The International Review of Ancient Art & Archaeology

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Deadlier than the male

Women warriors battle it out in the Classical world

Boudicca and the booty

The Roman hoard found in the ruins of Camulodunum

The axe of history

An iconic object that changed the face of Britain

In Paddy's footsteps

On the Patrick Leigh Fermor trail across Greece

City of Faith

The Metropolitan Museum of Art shines the spotlight on Jerusalem 1000-1400

Volume 27 Number 5

Historian and novelist **Adrian Goldsworthy** explains why he is drawn to write about Augustus and Napoleon

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VISIT…

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royal-athena galleries

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph. D., Director

ROMAN LARGE MARBLE NUDE APOLLO KITHAROIDOS The youthful god, patron of music and poetry, standing in contrapposto, his centrally parted hair bound with a thick wreath, its long tendrils falling on his shoulders. At his left, on a thigh-high column or altar stands his kithara, created for him by Hermes. This sculpture is based upon the 2nd century BC statue of Apollo from his Temple at Cyrene, now in the British Museum. Late 1st-early 2nd Century AD. H. 46 1/2 in. (118.1 cm.)

Ex Zurich art market, 1992; Christie's New York, June 2000; M.B. collection, Woodland Hills, California, acquired form Royal-Athena in October 2002; Dr. H. collection, Germany, acquired from Royal-Athena in March 2007.
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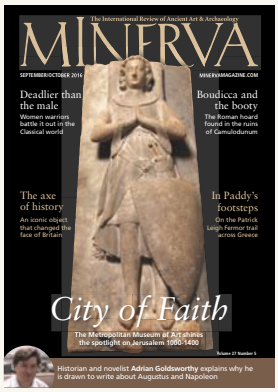

Limestone tomb effigy of a knight of the d'Aluye family (*circa* 1248-1267) from his tomb in the Cistercian Abbey of La Clarté-Dieu, between Le Mans and Tours, Loire Valley, France. H. 212.1cm. W. 87cm. D. 33cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cloisters Collection. See pages 14 to 20.

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Cities that rise again

Both Jerusalem and Camulodunum suffered from devastation by fire and the sword but both rose phoenix-like from the ashes to grow and prosper again

Our cover image shows an exquisitely carved limestone effigy of a French knight of the d'Aluye family, from his tomb in the Cistercian Abbey of La Clarté-Dieu in the Loire Valley. This superb piece of sculpture (now in The Met Cloisters, New York) clearly details the young man's soft wavy hair, his fine chainmail and his sword and belt. We are not quite sure if he represents Jean II d'Aluye or his son, Hugues VI; fighting in the Holy Land was a tradition in their family. The knight's serene expression and prayerful attitude do not reflect the bloody battles in which he may have fought, but rather portray an eternally youthful warrior now at rest in heaven.

Yerushalayim (City of Peace), *Ierosalyma*, *al-Quds* (The Holy City) – Jerusalem has many names. It is a melting-pot of cultures, a fascinating hub of history and, in my opinion, one of the most exciting cities in the world, fizzing with diverging energies and diverse ideas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art is focusing on Jerusalem in a period of transition, from 1000 to 1400, in its autumn exhibition. It has brought together an array of glorious objects to represent the city's many faiths and facets, as you can see on pages 14 to 20.

Several of the great cities of Roman Britain were destroyed in AD 61 during the Boudiccan Revolt against the oppressive occupying forces. The first one burnt to the ground was Camulodunum (Colchester). Its citizens were trapped by her forces who torched all the buildings and slaughtered everyone they found. One family hid their gold and silver jewellery under the floor of their house, hoping to come back and retrieve it later. They never did but, nearly 2000 years later, archaeologists uncovered the hoard. On pages 8 to 13 Dr Philip Crummy, Director of Colchester Archaeological Trust, describes the Boudiccan conflagration and how the buried treasure was found.

Boudicca was not the only female warrior of the ancient world to lead an army against the Romans; think of Queen Zenobia in Palmyra, for example. But women were also involved in war and combat in other ways. Some were cited as the cause of conflicts, others took part in single combat, even as contestants in gladiatorial contests, as Paul Chrystal explains on pages 36 to 40.

The sword was not the only way to dispatch an enemy, of course. Poison was another lethal weapon, but this generated legal difficulties, as it was often hard to prove malice aforethought. Poison was also closely linked to sorcery and witchcraft both in mythology and real life. Erich B Anderson has made a study of this arcane subject and its dire consequences, as you will see on pages 22 to 26.

A single figure of the modern age who was as at home in the ancient world as in the 20th century was the acclaimed travel writer Patrick Lee Fermor. This summer Dominic Green led a group following in Paddy's footsteps across Greece. You can read all about it in our travel feature on pages 46 to 51.

Another writer fascinated by the ancient world is historian and novelist Dr Adrian Goldsworthy whose biographies of Roman emperors have now made way for his fictional tales set during the Napoleonic wars as he explains to to Diana Bentley on pages 42 to 44.

The iconic object of the Neolithic period was the hand axe. Not merely tools or weapons, these special axes were made of rare material and beautifully polished. It is difficult to imagine a stranger arriving at your front door and presenting you with such an object – but that is just what happened to David Miles who tells the story in his new book *The Tale of the Axe*. As he traces the influence that the stone axe had on Britain, he does so as part of a grand sweep through our early history; see pages 28 to 34. If you would like to see this amazing axe, you will soon be able to do so, as David is donating it to the Oxfordshire Museum in Woodstock, and he is giving a talk there on Saturday 8 October. (For details visit www.oxfordshire.gov.uk/cms/public-site/oxfordshire-museum).

In our Book Reviews on pages 52 to 55, we find out more about the poet Ovid, Imperial Rome, the treasure accrued by Alexander the Great, and end up in bed with the Ancient Greeks. We also have our Quiz for those Classicists among you, on page 55, and our Calendar of exhibitions and events ably compiled by Lucia Marchini, on pages 56 to 61.

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Lucia Marchini has an MA in Classics from UCL. She has worked as a freelance researcher, notably for historian Bettany Hughes, on a number of books, as well as radio and film projects for the BBC and other broadcasters. She is Editorial Assistant at *Current Archaeology*.

Erich B Anderson studied history and anthropology at Northern Illinois University. A member of the Authors Guild, he has written over 40 articles. His new book, *Cataphracts: Knights of the Ancient Eastern Empires,* will be published by Pen & Sword in November.

Philip Crummy has been Director of the Colchester Archaeological Trust for 46 years and his team have excavated the town's legionary fortress, Britain's only Roman circus and the Fenwick treasure. He has written extensively about its history. In 2008 the University of Essex awarded him an Honorary Doctorate.

inthenews

Recent stories from the world of ancient art and archaeology

Glorious Gloriana goes to Greenwich

1. *The Armada Portrait* of Elizabeth I, *circa* 1590, English School, shows the bejewelled queen surrounded by symbols of imperial majesty, she rests her hand on a globe signifying England's maritime dominance. 2. *English Ships and the Spanish Armada, August 1588,* English School.

© NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM

The Armada Portrait of Elizabeth I is to remain in Britain. A £7.4million Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) grant, helped by 8000 public donations, raised in just 10 weeks and totalling £1.5million, has allowed the Royal Museums Greenwich to buy this stunning English Renaissance masterpiece.

It was sold by the Tyrwhitt-Drake family of Hampshire, the descendants of Queen Elizabeth's naval hero, Sir Francis Drake, who may have commissioned it. This is the first time the painting has entered public ownership in its 425-year history. The portrait commemorates the failed invasion of England by the Spanish Armada in the summer of 1588, the most famous conflict of Elizabeth I's reign (1558-1603) and it radiates the creativity, ideals and ambitions of her era. Among the most famous images of British history, it has inspired countless portrayals of Elizabeth I on stage and in film.

Also known as *The Drake Portrait*, it is one of three known 'Armada' portraits of the queen celebrating the Spanish defeat. One of these is at Woburn Abbey, the other is in the National Portrait Gallery in London. Queen Elizabeth I is one of the most painted English monarchs although most, like these and the fine Coronation painting in the NPG, are not attributed to an artist.

The National Maritime Museum in Greenwich already possesses a wonderfully colourful painting of the naval conflict (right) also by an unknown artist. In *The Drake Portrait*, the Armada is seen behind Queen Elizabeth I.

Historian Sir Roy Strong said: '*Such an icon of England should not leave the country and for it to find its final resting place on the walls of the museum that celebrates our maritime heritage would seem only right and proper.*'

Sir Peter Luff, Chair of HLF, commented: 'The Armada Portrait *is a compelling historic icon, illustrating as it does a decisive conflict, inspiring female leadership, maritime power and the emergence of the Elizabethan Golden Age. This image has shaped our understanding of 'Gloriana', the Virgin Queen, for over 400 years... I am delighted that it will now have such an appropriate permanent home in Greenwich... Royal Museums Greewich are the ideal custodians of the portrait.*'

Kevin Fewster, Director, Royal Museums Greenwich, said: '*Through this generous donation from HLF, Art Fund and others, Royal Museums Greenwich has been able to secure this remarkable portrait of Elizabeth I for the nation...*

'Elizabeth I was born in 1533 at Greenwich Palace, of which only the 1616 Queen's House remains. The portrait will be displayed there when it re-opens to the public... With 2016 being the 90th birthday year of our present Queen, there could not be a more appropriate way for us to celebrate the second great Elizabethan era.'

Incorporating the National Maritime Museum, the Royal Observatory Greenwich, the 17th-century Queen's House and *Cutty Sark*, the ain of Royal Museums Greenwich is to show the importance of the sea, ships, time and the stars and their relationship with people.

The Maritime Greenwich, which is a UNESCO World Heritage Site, welcomes more than two million British and international visitors a year and is also a major centre of education and research.

The Armada Portrait will be the centrepiece of the re-opening of the Queen's House on 11 October. (For further information on the Royal Museums Greenwich go to www.rmg.co.uk. To find out more about the Heritage Lottery Fund visit www.hlf.org.uk).

Lindsay Fulcher

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The cave art of Mona

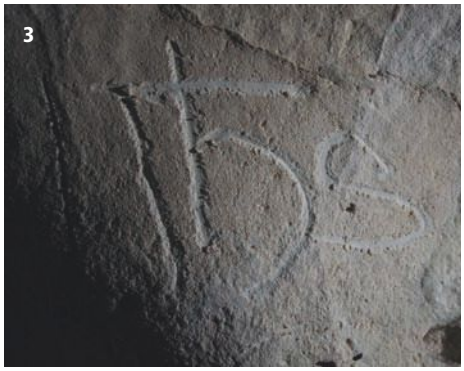
From deep in the caves of the Caribbean island of Mona, new evidence has come to light of sympathetic encounters between European colonisers and the New World. Some 16th-century Christian inscriptions on the soft limestone cave walls sit alongside indigenous 'finger-fluting' (marks made by running the finger tips across the soft stone) and show the two cultures existing side by side in what archaeologists describe as '*one of the first manifestations of a Creole Christian identity in the New World*'.

Mona lies midway between the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, to which it now belongs, and is uninhabited. It is the most cave-rich island in the Caribbean, and its iconography is the most diverse. An Anglo-Puerto Rican archaeological team led by Dr Jago Cooper of the British Museum and Dr Alice Samson of the University of Leicester has so far found cave art in 30 of around 200 cave systems.

'*You can find similar iconography in Cuba and the Lesser Antilles and as far as Florida*,' says Dr Samson, '*and though these on Mona sit within an established corpus of iconography that is familiar, the softness of the walls is unique in the Caribbean, which means people could do a lot more with it.*'

What is also unique are the crosses and Christograms in Cave 18, the main focus of their work. These sit alongside pagan patterns which, say the archaeologists, would have been deemed deeply heretical if examined, for example, by the Inquisition of Mexico. The indigenous motifs and symbols are made with fingers, but the Christograms, including the words *Dios te perdone* (*God forgive you*) were scratched with tools.

'*I find the image particularly striking where you have two crosses flanking an indigenous figure,*' says Dr Samson. '*This mirrors the Calvary we have elsewhere, with three crosses and the word 'Jesus' beneath. The inscriptions were not written on top of the older pagan inscriptions and they were not defaced. One explanation is that local people were taking Spaniards to caves that were a place of spiritual importance for the indigenous inhabitants in the 15th and 16th centuries. People kept going there to visit, leaving their names and commentaries behind.*'



1. The idyllic, empty Caribbean island of Mona.
2. Indigenous finger-fluted figures in Cave 18.
3. The Latin Christogram, IHS, meaning *Jesu Salvator Hominem* ('Jesus Saviour of Men').

As well as on-going exploration of the caves, the team has been looking at the changing ecology. For centuries this was an island where ships took on water; now water has to be imported to Mona and it is not an easy place to reach. An eight-seater plane brings in the researchers from Puerto Rico; the boat ride takes four hours and the crossing is rough. Once there, they sleep in hammocks and live on provisions they bring with them, remaining for anything up to a month. The caves are often in sheer cliffs and the team has been literally learning the ropes on-site from speleologists from Kentucky and Iowa Universities. Yet despite the lack of facilities and difficulty of access to the caves, there is no shortage of students wanting to go on field trips, according to Dr Samson, who is just back from a stint on the island. '*It's such a beautiful and culturally significant place*,' she says.

Roger Williams

PHOTOGRAPHS: DR JAGO COOPER AND DR ALICE SAMSON

Ghostly city sited

One of the new places to be spotlighted by UNESCO's list of World Heritage Sites is the vast and remote ruined city of Ani by the Armenian border in northeastern Turkey, 1500km east of Istanbul and an hour's drive from Kars. According to the citation, '*The site presents a comprehensive overview of the evolution of medieval architecture through examples of almost all the different architectural innovations of the region between the 7th and 13th centuries AD*.' But this does not evoke the extraordinary feeling a visitor has when entering this ghostly city, which appears almost like a mirage beside a cavernous ravine.

During the 10th and 11th centuries, Ani was the capital of the Armenian kingdom of Bagratides, controlling part of the Silk Road. At its height under King Gagik I (*circa* AD 989-1020) its population totalled more than 100,000 and it was known as '*the city of 101 churches*'. It continued to be important under successive Byzantine, Seljuk and Georgian rule until Monghul incursions and an earthquake in 1319, when the dome of Ani's cathedral collapsed and decline set in.

1. The former Monastery of the Virgin is sited by a cavernous ravine.
2. The Church of the Redeemer damaged by a 20th-century earthquake.

First excavated in 1908 by the Georgian scholar Nicholas Marr, large sections of its walls, gates and towers are still standing, along with ruined palaces, bath houses, shops, churches and a mosque, the first built on the Anatolian plateau. (For the full list of new World Heritage Sites see: http://whc.unesco.org/en/newproperties/).

Roger Williams

IMAGES COURTESY OF REPUBLIC OF TURKEY: MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND TOURISM

Israel's only mummy

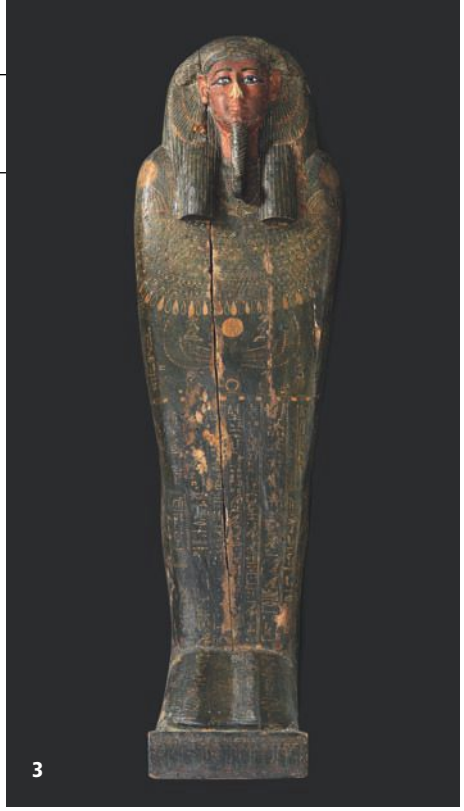
What do we know of the daily life of an Egyptian high priest living in the Ptolemaic Period, in the 2nd century BC? It might not be a surprise to learn that he had a diet high in carbohydrates, which contributed to the poor state of his teeth that developed caries and resulted in receding gums. But CT scans performed on the mummy of Iret-hor-r-u (Protective Eye of Horus) at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem have also revealed that he kept out of the sun and probably led a sedentary life, as he suffered from osteoporosis, a deterioration of the bones normally associated with desk-bound workers of modern times.

This high-ranking priest from Akhmin in Upper Egypt died in his 30s or 40s, and his embalmed body has since shrunk from 5ft 6in, to just over 5ft (167-154cm). Given his age, the body is otherwise apparently in good shape, with its bones, teeth, hair and some blood vessels intact, which made it a suitable case for investigation by Israeli scientists before going on show in an exhibition entitled *The Mummy in Jerusalem: Secrets of the Afterlife*. This is the only mummy in the country and it arrived by a circuitous route.

It is, in fact, on loan from the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Jerusalem, an arm of the Vatican run by Jesuits. It was given to the Institute after its inauguration in 1927 by the Jesuits in Alexandria, which is why it has been nicknamed 'Alex', a name that seems far too common for a revered official in a beautifully decorated sarcophagus.

Another gift in the exhibition is an ibis-shaped coffin containing the embalmed body of the sacred bird that is now extinct in Egypt. It was presented at the conclusion of peace agreements in 1979 by Egypt's President Anwar el-Sadat to Israel's Deputy Prime Minister, Yigael Yadin.

Other artefacts related to the Egyptian cult of the dead come from the museum's own collections and include burial amulets,



ALL IMAGES © THE ISRAEL MUSEUM/PHOTOGRAPHS: ELIE POSNER

1. An ibis-shaped wooden coffin containing the embalmed bird. 2. A faience winged scarab. 3. The painted sarcophagus of Iret-hor-r-u.

such as scarabs, canopic jars, statuettes, funerary masks and portraits, and papyri from the *Book of the Dead*.

Further Ancient Egyptian items in the Israel Museum can be seen in an exhibition entitled *Pharaoh in Canaan,* in the Bella and Harry Wexner Gallery, which continues until 25 October. Here, more than 680 objects have been chosen to show the many cross-cultural ties between Egypt and Canaan in the second millennium BC. (For further information: www.imj.org.il).

Roger Williams

Roman pottery kiln in the bedrock

A 1600-year-old Roman pottery workshop, where large jars were manufactured, has been found in Shlomi in Western Galilee. The most unusual feature of this ancient workshop is its kiln.

Joppe Gosker, the Israel Antiquities Authority excavation director, explains: '*What makes the pottery works so special is their unique kiln, which was hewn in bedrock, unlike most of the kilns known to us, which were built of stone, earth and mud. The ancient workshop also included a system for storing water, storage compartments, etc.*

'*The kiln was meticulously constructed*,' he adds. '*It consists of two chambers – one a firebox in which branches were inserted for burning, and one where the pottery vessels were placed to be fired in the scorching heat that was generated.*

PHOTOGRAPH:ROYEE LIRAN, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

A rare kiln at a Roman pottery workshop excavated in Western Galilee.

'*The ceramic debris piled up around the kiln indicates that two types of vessels were manufactured: storage jars that could be transported overland, and jars with large handles* (amphorae) *that were used to store wine or oil that was exported from Israel by sea.*'

Anastasia Shapiro, a geologist with the Israel Antiquities Authority, who is researching the production of ancient pottery vessels, comments: '*We can explain the quarrying of this rare kiln right here because of the special geological conditions found in the area of Shlomi. Here there is chalk bedrock, which on the one hand is soft and therefore easily quarried, and on the other it is sufficiently strong to endure the intense heat.*'

The kiln was discovered during the course of a large archeological project that has been going on for the past six months and involved hundreds of young people, including high school students. The excavation was carried out prior to the construction of new housing. A late Roman royal structure with a gate, contemporaneous with the workshop, has also been found in the area

Lindsay Fulcher

A warm welcome to Iron Age Wales

1. and 3. Ian Daniel, the Learning, Participation & Interpretation Officer of St Fagans National History Museum takes on the role of an Iron Age farmer. 2. Iron Age roundhouses.

You will get a warm welcome when you visit Bryn Eryr, the Iron Age farmstead at St Fagans National History Museum near Cardiff in Wales. The two roundhouses with six-foot thick clay walls and large conical thatched roofs are based on local buildings from the time of the Roman conquest. The farmstead is a recreation of a small Iron Age settlement excavated near Llansadwrn in the eastern corner of the Island of Anglesey.

The farmstead was built with the help of hundreds of volunteers, schoolchildren and members of neighbouring communities. Together with the museum's own building team, they raised up the clay walls, helped to interpret the history of the houses and rediscovered the lives of its original inhabitants.

St Fagans National History Museum is one of the most visited open-air museums in Europe – and Wales' most popular heritage attraction with more than 600,000 visitors annually.

More than 40 different buildings from various historical periods, including a medieval church, farmhouses and a post office, have been moved from locations all over Wales and been re-erected at the museum. St Fagans' aim is to tell the story of Welsh history stretching back over 200,000 years.

Supported by the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), the Welsh Government and other organisations, the museum is currently undergoing the biggest redevelopment project in its history.

David Anderson, Director General Amgueddfa Cymru (National Museum Wales), said: '*The reconstruction of this exceptional lost building from Anglesey, using archaeological evidence, is a significant part of the redevelopment of St Fagans. For the last five years, we have been communicating the value of the redevelopment project for the people of Wales and beyond. With the opening of Bryn Eryr, our visitors now have a place to hear ancient stories, learn traditional skills and share experiences with their friends and families.*'

Richard Bellamy, Head of the Heritage Lottery Fund in Wales said: '*The reconstruction of Bryn Eryr has been years in the making, with attention paid to even the smallest of details to ensure that the finished farmstead would be as authentic as possible. It is pleasing to note that hundreds of volunteers have given up their time to help make this reconstruction possible and engage in our heritage – and they deserve a special thanks for their dedication. This is the first building to be completed as part of the* Making History *project at Fagans, which has been made possible in part by the £11.5million grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund. I cannot wait to see the other buildings and exhibition spaces completed – it will ensure that St Fagans will be better than ever, helping tell the Welsh story to the world.*'

• On 24 and 25 September the Iron Age roundhouses will be the setting for performances of *Boudicca – The Warrior Queen*, a family show telling the story of the Iceni queen and her turbulent life (see pages 8 to 13). Book tickets via www.ticketlineuk.com or by calling 029 2023 0130. (For general information visit: www.museumwales/stfagans/).

Lindsay Fulcher

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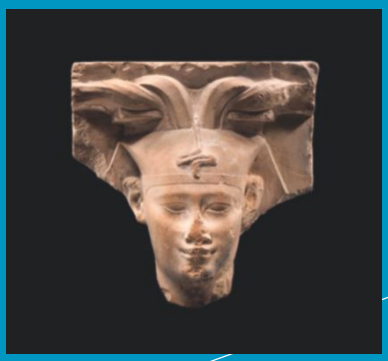

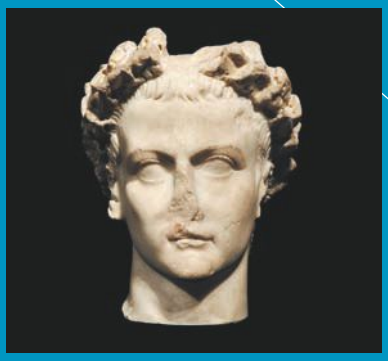

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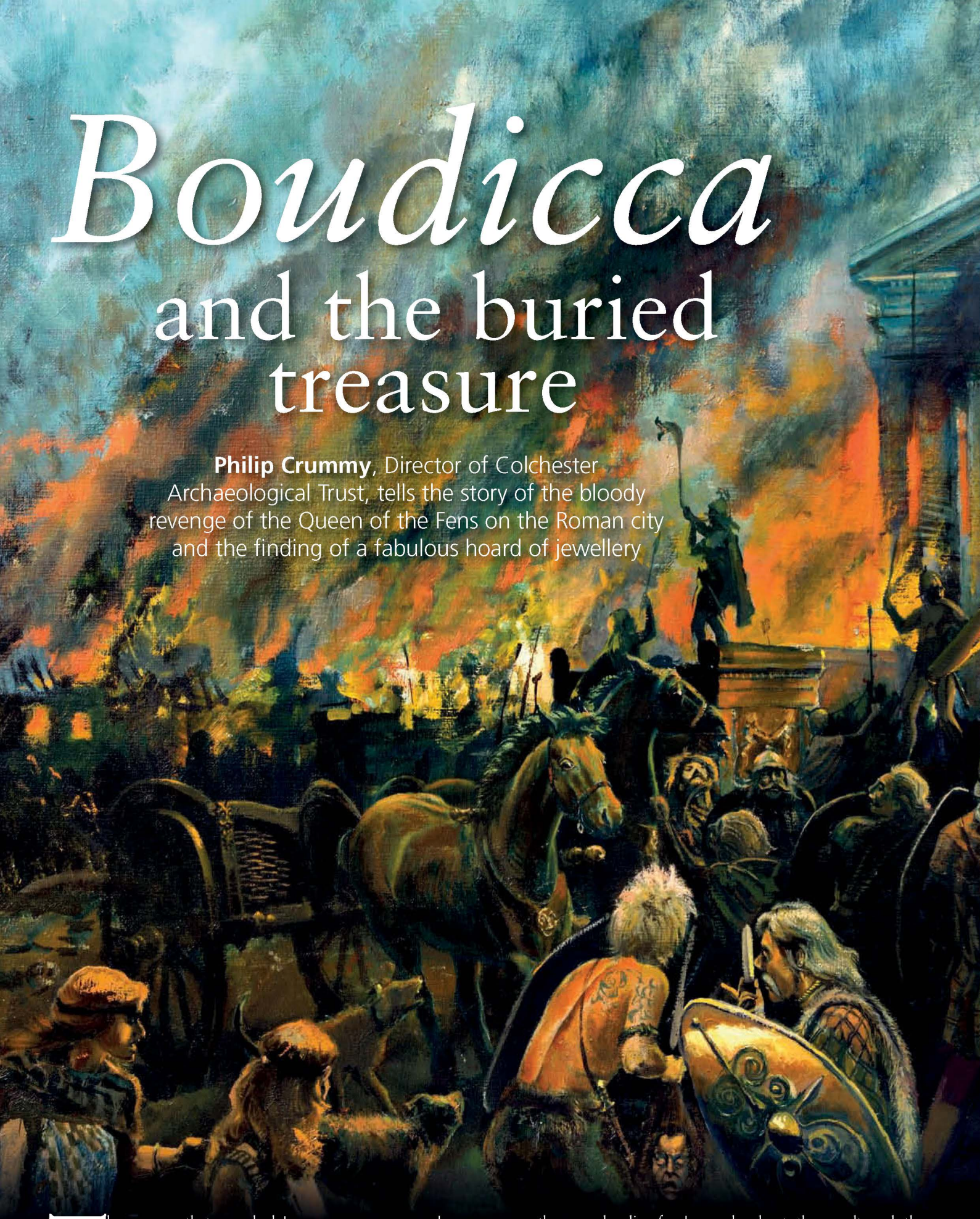
Boudicca and the buried treasure

Philip Crummy, Director of Colchester Archaeological Trust, tells the story of the bloody revenge of the Queen of the Fens on the Roman city and the finding of a fabulous hoard of jewellery



The news that reached the fearful inhabitants of Roman Camulodunum in Britannia was bad, very bad. Some of the British tribes had unexpectedly revolted. Thousands of men were on the move heading for the town. The year was AD 61 and, unusually, their leader was a woman. Her name was Boudicca. She was queen of the Iceni tribe from East Anglia. Details survive in the written records about the revolt and the lady, herself, but much of it is unreliable, especially when it comes to casualty figures and the size of her army. Boudicca's plan appears to have been simple. The

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towns of Camulodunum (now Colchester), Londinium (London) and Verulamium (St Albans) were seen as bastions of Roman rule and oppression, which provided support for the army. Burn those places to the ground, kill their inhabitants, and leave the Roman army in Britain isolated and ripe for obliteration. Part of the Ninth Legion, which was sent to Camulodunum to bring relief, was ambushed and defeated. This was disastrous news for the townsfolk. Apart from a small armed force, the people of Camulodunum were now on their own – and what's more, their town had no defences. The place

1. *Temple of Claudius on Fire in AD 61*, oil painting by Peter Froste, 1991, showing the fatal conflagration in Camulodunum. © Peter Froste.

was wide open and the outlook for the inhabitants was bleak indeed. An earthwork defence was hastily constructed but the odds were heavily stacked against them, and they knew it.

Londinium faced a similar plight but the commander of the Roman army in Britain, Suetonius Paulinus, managed to reach the town with his fast-moving force. When he arrived, however, he judged the situation to be hopeless and abandoned Londinium to its fate. Telling those who were fit enough to come with him for safety, he turned around and headed back north to choose a site for the inevitable battle where the two opposing forces were to settle the war.

At first, Boudicca's plan went as intended. Her warriors reduced Camulodunum to ashes and, after overcoming stubborn resistance in or around the Temple of Claudius, moved on to Londinium and then Verulamium to do the same in each place. The British warriors evidently did not take prisoners and some Roman women were sacrificed in sacred groves in horrific ways. The cost in lost and ruined human lives on the Roman side must have been enormous. But the set piece battle on a site carefully chosen by Suetonius soon changed things completely. This time the main loss of life was on the British side and the dead ultimately included Boudicca herself. Faced with a resounding defeat and a loss of many lives, she appears to have committed suicide.

Opportunities don't come that often to excavate inside the walled town part of Colchester, at least not these days. So you can imagine our excitement when Fenwick, a department store in the centre of this historic town where some of its most important archaeological remains survive, told us that this is precisely what it wanted us to do. The company, which was about to embark on a major redevelopment of the store, asked us to carry out the excavation – and we had 19 weeks to complete it.

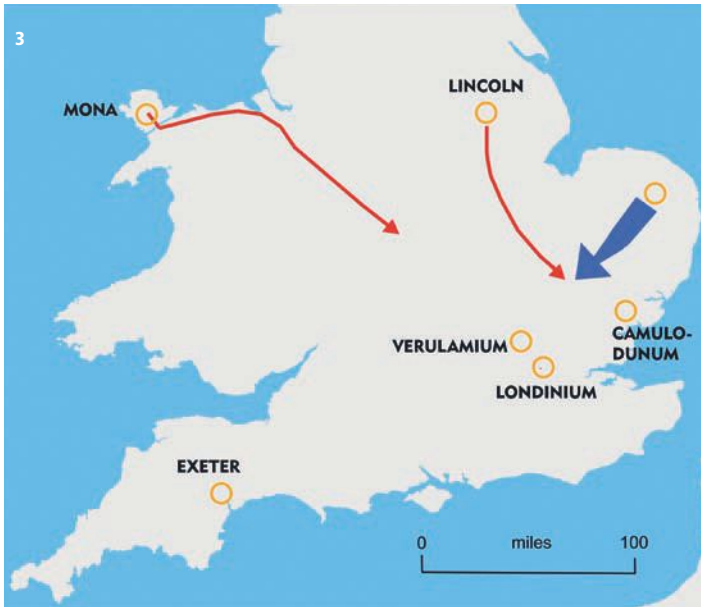
Whenever remains of Boudiccan buildings have been uncovered in the past, the story was always the same: they turned out to have been destroyed by fire. Yet they wouldn't have burnt easily since most had tiled roofs and clay walls, so clearly Boudicca's warriors couldn't have simply set a few buildings

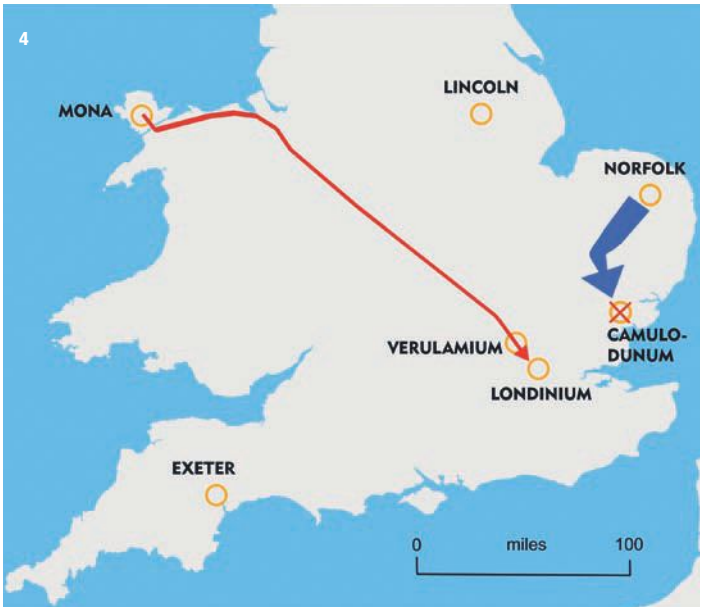
2. An aerial view of Camulodunum on fire in AD 61, watercolour by Peter Froste, 1997. © Peter Froste and Colchester Archaeological Trust.

Maps of the battles:

3. Roman governor Suetonius Paulinus rushes to Londinium from Mona (Anglesea) and part of the Ninth Legion heads for Camulodunum from Lincoln.

4. The Ninth Legion is ambushed and turns back. Boudicca destroys Camulodunum and Suetonius reaches Londinium.





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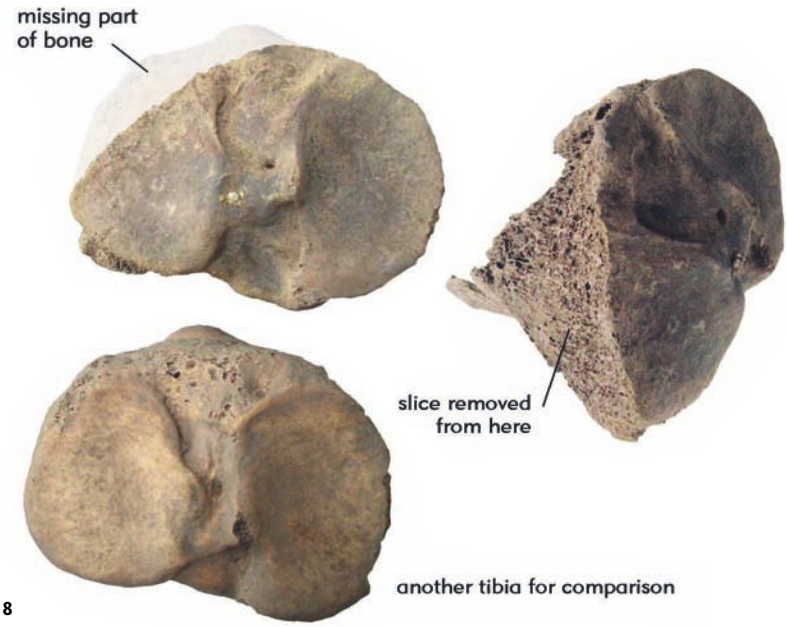

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on fire and hoped that the flames would spread – they must have methodically torched every building.

The intense heat turned the clay walls red and black, and clay floors became mottled red, brown and black. Wooden framework or wattles inside the walls burnt away completely to leave voids in the hardened clay, perfectly preserving their shape and size. Organic material on the floors such as foodstuffs and textiles became carbonised like badly-burnt toast, again perfectly preserving the sizes and shapes for posterity. Today, stumps of burnt walls stand in situ up to half a metre or more in height in what survives underground from the holocaust. It is an archaeologist's paradise on the one hand, but testimony to the dreadful events of AD 61 on the other. As so often happens on excavations, it was Day 94 – our second to last day on site – that turned out to be the big one, as site director Adam Wightman recorded in his dig diary:

Day 94: GOLD!!! Today I had the good fortune to uncover a collection of gold and silver jewellery. It was buried in the floor of the Roman building destroyed during the Boudiccan fire. The jewellery appears to have been tightly packed into a very small pit and then covered over. The jewellery had probably been buried for safekeeping during the early stages of the revolt and then became covered over by the remains of the collapsed building. It is a remarkable piece of good fortune that the jewellery had not been found before, as later Roman foundation trenches, a medieval lime pit and a modern sewerage pipe had all been excavated within a metre of the jewellery. At least three people over the last 1,954 years had come within an arm's reach of discovering it!

The tiny pit for the treasure was barely big enough for its purpose. It was very shallow, so shallow that the uppermost parts of the group were hardly covered. The burial had haste and panic written all over it. The result conjures up an image of a person frantically scraping a little hollow in the floor of his or her house just deep and wide enough to take the jewellery and keep it safe. Clearly this person's aim was to return to recover the much-valued

5. Suetonius abandons Londinium and heads back north. Boudicca and her forces destroy Londinium.

6. Boudicca's army destroys Verulamium and is then defeated by Suetonius at a site of his choice. The precise location of the battle is not known.

7. Adam Wightman, the site director, discovers the buried treasure under the burnt floor.

8. Top of a human tibia (shin bone) with part of it removed by a sharp instrument.

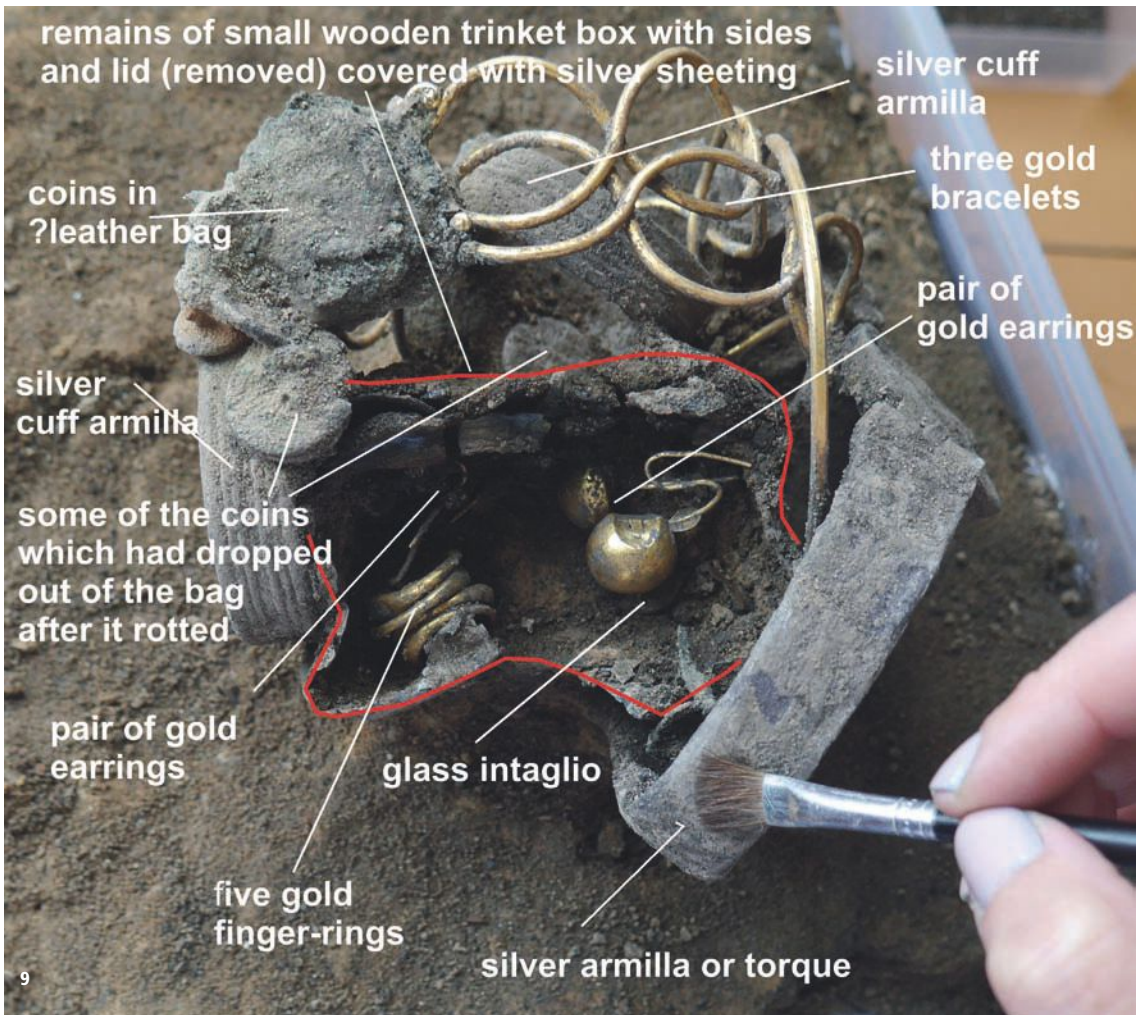
items but, of course, that never happened.

The house must have been a substantial one with clay block walls and clay floors. Everywhere, a thick layer of crushed and broken burnt debris covered the floors. One of the internal walls stood to a height of 0.6m, and a 1.5m-long burnt shelf lay on the floor. All around burnt foodstuffs such as dates, figs and peas provided evidence of meals that were planned but never prepared. The dates and figs, being imported, reinforce the evidence for the Mediterranean connection with the house's occupants.

A few fragments of human bone lay scattered all around in the debris of the burnt and destroyed buildings. This is not the first time such remains have come to light, although, in general, they are very rare. This time the bone was quite extraordinary since two of the pieces bore graphic evidence of injuries that might have been caused by sharp instruments such as swords. They strongly suggest that the bones were remains of people who had died in the fighting. A sliced tibia (shin bone) is particularly evocative. A man had crouched behind his shield but his left knee stuck out too much below it and was caught by the downwards blow of a sword.

The buried objects consist of a gold bangle, two gold bracelets, two silver bracelets, a large silver armlet, a silver chain, a purse full of coins, a small lidded box, and a few other items. The lot appears to have been buried in a small leather bag. The lidded box was made of wood sheathed in silver, apart from on the underside where there were four little ivory feet. Inside the box were five gold rings, two pairs of gold earrings, a glass intaglio engraved with the image of a pantheress, a copper-alloy amulet and a silver coin. The amulet, known as a *bulla*, was given to a Roman boy child on the eighth day after his birth. He would then wear it on a chain, or thong, around his neck. The one found here was cheap, being made of copper-alloy; well-off families gave their male children solid gold *bullae*.

The earrings are types that are well-represented in Pompeii and Herculaneum. One type is in the form of a large hollow gold ball fixed to gold wire. The other consisted of a pair of pearls on gold pendants dangling from either end of a little gold cross-piece. These earrings



9. The treasure early on in the excavation.

10. Five finger-rings. D. 13mm to 16mm.

11. Pair of gold looped bracelets. D. 77mm.

12. Large gold bracelet with adjustable clasp. D. 73mm.

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'GOLD!!! Today I had the good fortune to uncover a collection of gold and silver jewellery'

— Adam Wightman

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were known as *crotalia* (rattles) because the pearls would quietly rattle as the wearer moved her head. Men as well as women wore jewellery in the 1st century AD, but in general the gold jewellery would have been favoured by women whereas the silver items (and *bullae*) were male. The most prized male items would have been the pieces given as military awards, which included bracelets or armlets of various forms gifted to ranks below centurion. The purse contained 28 coins, all but four of which were silver. They range in date from *circa* 109-108 BC to AD 41-54 (the reign of Claudius) in keeping with the date of the Boudiccan revolt.

The Fenwick Treasure is of great interest, not only because of its content, but also because the collection tells us something about the Roman couple who lived in the house we found in ruins. The silver jewellery suggests that the man was a retired soldier who had been given awards for acts of bravery on the battlefield. Imagery on the large silver armlet and the glass intaglio indicates he may have earned the nickname 'Panthera'.

Comparisons with contemporary jewellery in Pompeii suggest that although the Camulodunum couple was not particularly wealthy they were interested in Italian fashion – and the man may have been Italian by birth. Faced with the news of the approaching Boudiccan army, the couple chose to stay in their home and wait for the relief that in the end never came. Imagine their despair when they heard that the Ninth Legion had been defeated on its way to their rescue. No real hope left now. They hastily dug the smallest of holes in the floor of one of their rooms and in it buried their most valuable and precious portable possessions. In their heart of hearts, could they really see themselves returning to recover their treasure? For two days, the besieged remnants of the town's population aided by a few hundred soldiers held out in or around the stone-walled Temple of Claudius. But in the end, Boudicca had her way and took no prisoners.

For archaeologists like us, the discovery of the Fenwick Treasure, with its rare gold and silver objects, is a real treat. But the destroyed houses, the human bone in the scorched debris and the rather pathetic little scrape so hastily dug to bury the jewellery vividly bring home to us the full horror of war. ■

• The Fenwick Treasure is on show in Colchester Castle Museum (www.cimuseums.org.uk). The castle was built on the site of the Temple of Claudius.

13. Glass intaglio incised with the image of a pantheress. 10mm x 11mm.

14. A silver armlet with an adjustable clasp. D. 53mm.

15. Large silver armlet showing a hunt scene with (left to right) a panther, a stag, a mounted huntsman, another panther and a stag in woodland. The medallion shows Fortuna, holding a cornucopia, Jupiter and Victory. D.18mm.

16. A gold ring with the image of a dolphin incised on its bezel. D. 14mm.

17. A pair of gold ball (D. 16mm) earrings.

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Jerusalem the golden

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art's lavish new autumn show shines a spotlight on this fascinating and complex city in a period of transition – from 1000 to 1400. **Dominic Green** gives us a preview

'*Tell me what you like*,' John Ruskin wrote in 1860, '*and I'll tell you what you are*.' So it goes with Jerusalem. The 'City of Peace' is in fact several cities, both physical and metaphysical. In the Old City's Jewish Quarter, near the Romano-Byzantine thoroughfare of the Cardo, is a hole in the ground with an information sign that reveals the layers of settlement: the First Temple-era city on the bedrock, then the Second Temple, the rebuilt Christian city of the Romans and Byzantines and then, at street level, the legacy of Islamic rule after Saladin's conquest of 1189 followed by the Ottomans in 1517.

Jerusalem's many names pile up like the archaeological traces of its inhabitants: *Yerushalayim* (the City of Peace), Zion, *Ierosalyma*, *al-Quds* (the Holy City). Peace may be written into the city's Hebrew name and invoked in the Hebraic and Arabic greetings of the comings in and goings out of its inhabitants, but the place is imbued with so much history and religious significance that securing peace here is as elusive as finding a parking space in modern Jerusalem.

Physical geography alone places Jerusalem in a position of importance. Even in early Biblical times its location on a ridge overlooking the ancient highway between Egypt and Syria ensured that peace merely meant the absence of war. '*And the land had rest 40 years*,' says the *Book of Judges*, describing the interlude between Otniel's war with the Mesopotamians and his sons' hostilities with the Moabites (*circa* 1200 BC). That was long before the arrival of the Seleukids and the Ptolemies who divided Alexander the Great's empire after his death in 323 BC; or Pompey the Great, who conquered Jerusalem for Rome in 63 BC; or the Parthians, who took Jerusalem in 40 BC and held it for three years, before Herod regained the city with Roman help. And all of this was long before Christianity and Islam staked their claims and built their own sacred architecture on the site of the destroyed Jewish temples.

Jerusalem's spiritual geography continues to shape its human geography. The Israeli government's policy of welcoming pilgrims and tourists of all faiths and nations to what today's hapless peace negotiators call Jerusalem's '*sacred basin*' is the most open

1. *Saint John Sees the Heavenly Jerusalem* from The Cloisters Apocalypse, Normandy, France, tempera, silver, gold and ink on parchment, *circa* 1330. 30.8cm × 22.9cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Cloisters Museum.

2. Section of a Qur'an, from Jazira, Syria, or Egypt, gold, opaque watercolour and ink on paper, 13th century. 50.8cm × 33.7cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

3. *View of Jerusalem* from *Journey to the Holy Land* (*Peregrinatio in Terram sanctam*) Mainz, 1486, woodcut on paper, by Bernhard von Breydenbach (1440-1497), designed by Erhard Reuwich (*circa* 1455-*circa* 1490), and published by Peter Schöffer the Elder (1425–1503). 32cm x 23cm x 3.5cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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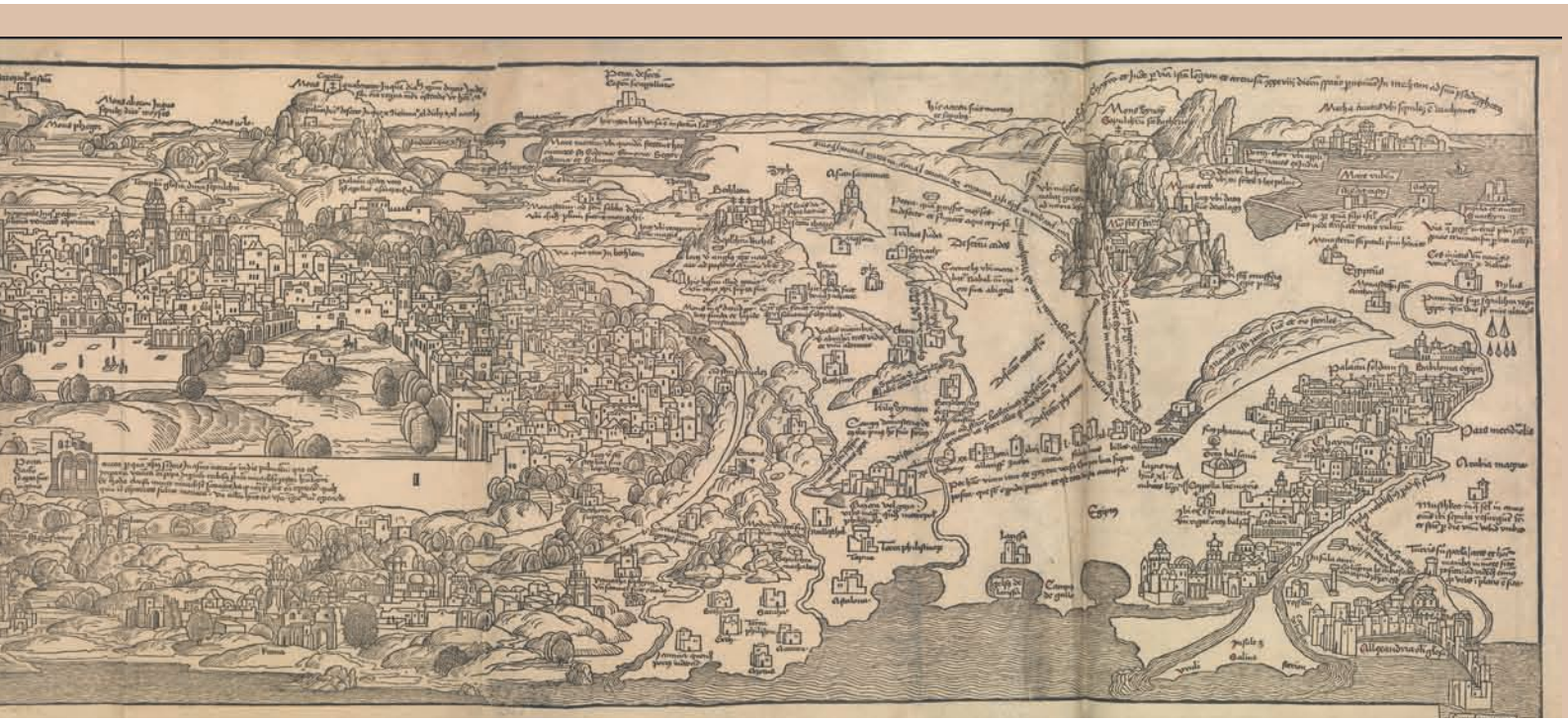
4. *The Book of Divine Service* from the Mishneh Torah of Maimonides, tempera, gold leaf and ink on parchment, Northern Italy, *circa* 1457. Illumination attributed to the Master of the Barbo Missal. Scribe: Nehemiah for Moshe Anau be Yitzchak. 22.7cm × 18.4cm. Jointly owned by The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



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for centuries, although the unification of the city as a result of the Six-Day War of 1967 is still unrecognised internationally.

Food is, perhaps, a less contraversial subject. The richly diverse cuisine of Jerusalem has been popularised by the Jewish-Arab partnership of Yotam Ottolenghi and Sami Tamimi, but the Ottoman-style divisions of the Old City into Jewish, Christian, Armenian and Arab quarters is still writ large in the fabric of the modern city, which is fragmented into Jewish and Arab, Israeli and Palestinian, religious and secular neighbourhoods.

Jerusalem contains a seething mass of peoples and faiths in a maze of municipal structures and messianic expectations – and it would not be the maddening, thrilling place it is without these tensions.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art's autumn exhibition, *Jerusalem 1000-1400: Every People Under Heaven* opening on 26 September, is a lavish aesthetic history of the city in a period of transition that reflects this. Some 60 lenders from across the globe have contributed more than 200 loans – but a quarter of them (some of them are leaving the city for the first time) are from Jerusalem's own various religious communities.

Jerusalem's spiritual temperature has always been as elevated as its location, but it was in the medieval period that the warring of Muslims and Christians, following the First Crusade of 1099, really raised the spiritual temperature to boiling point.

The slaughter in 1099 of much of the city's Jewish and Muslim population by the victorious Crusaders was one result. Another was the razing of the city walls in 1219 by Saladin's nephew Al-Mu'azzam. Yet, each time, Jerusalem recovered rapidly for pragmatic motives of politics and economics as much as for religious reasons.

Blessed or cursed with plural significance, medieval Jerusalem

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attained unprecedented symbolic meaning among the global communities of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Foundational to Judaism, and already sacred to Islam – Syrian Muslims knew Jerusalem as *al-Quds*, 'the Holy' city – and to the Crusaders, Jerusalem became the focus of image-making as the spiritual capital of Christendom, and the physical capital of the Crusader kingdoms. This, in turn, fostered a pilgrim trade that supported both skilled artisans and unscrupulous hoteliers, and which survived Saladin's conquest of 1189.

Instead of the archaeologist's vertical chronology or the historian's diachronic narrative across time, *Jerusalem 1000-1400* takes a synchronic approach. We see a single slice of the chronology, in which the lived experience of the city coexists with its idealisation in religious art. This emphasises the common ground of aesthetic and commercial exchanges over the turf wars of empires and religions.

'*We grow weary with the stories of conflict, and with the history of conflict*,' explains Melanie Holcomb, who with Barbara Drake Boehm has curated the exhibition. '*Not to say that this isn't there, but as an explanation for what is happening artistically, it seems to fall short*.'

The exhibition is presented in six thematic units. *The Pulse of Trade and Tourism* depicts a city as a node in a dense web of economic exchanges. Jerusalem's symbolic status as an *omphalos*, the navel of the world, is replicated as '*the crossroads of the known world*'. In the city's covered market, ceramics from local kilns would have been sold alongside Chinese imports – represented in the exhibition by a Syrian perfume-sprinkler from the Ayubbid dynasty (1169-1260) and a 14th-century Yuan dynasty plate. Jerusalemites also imported and wore coloured textiles from India, such as the blue and white block-printed 14th-century cotton textile, probably from Gujurat, that is also on show.

Viewed from afar, Jerusalem emerges as a fixed ideal, an icon central to Christian thought. Shortly after Catholic monks in Normandy created the gold and tempera illuminations of *St John Sees the Heavenly Jerusalem* from the Cloisters Apocalypse (*circa* 1330), the monks of a rival late 14th–early

5. Mosque lamp of Sultan Barquq, glass, colourless with brown tinge; blown, applied blown foot and handles, enamelled and gilded, *circa* 1382–99. 37.1cm × 24.4cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

6. *Chasse of Ambazac*, gilded copper, *champlevé* enamel, rock crystal, semi-precious stones, faience and glass; wood core, 1180-90. 79cm × 26.2cm × 58.6cm. Mairie d'Ambazac.

7. Jewish wedding ring, gold, with enamel, first half of the 14th century. 4.8cm × 2.4cm × 2.4cm. Thüringisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie.

8. Glass of Charlemagne, glass with gold and enamel, gilded silver, second half of the 12th century (glass); 13th-14th century (mount). 24cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Chartres.

9. Bottle decorated with Christian scenes, glass with gold and enamel, mid-13th century. 28.2cm × 17.8cm. Furusiyya Art Foundation.

15th-century sect in the Amhara region of Ethiopia illustrated their own Gospels.

But the next themed section, *The Diversity of Peoples*, depicts a more complex and less stable reality. The permanent population of the city was in flux in the medieval period. The Jewish, Muslim and Eastern Christian populations fell, due to the Crusaders' massacre of 1099. Syrian Christians were then invited back and the number of visitors grew too, attracted by religious sites and commercial opportunities. More than in any era before or since, Jerusalem became a '*city of foreigners*'. There are Arabic editions of the Christian Gospels and the Samaritan version of the Torah in the New York exhibition as well as the *Book of Kings* in Ge'ez, the Ethiopian tongue.

We all tend to assume that Jerusalem's religious geography is fixed, an earthly representation of the urge towards eternity. But in *The Air of Holiness* section we see surprising differences in the religious geography of the medieval period. Maps, for example, show that Christians believed the Dome of the Rock to be Solomon's Temple and the al-Aqsa Mosque his palace. Jewish pilgrims prayed not at the Western Wall, the massive retaining wall of the Second Temple, but on the Mount of Olives, with its view of the esplanade and the mosques, or on entering the city's gates.

10. The Barcelona Haggadah, tempera, gold, and ink on parchment, *circa* 1360-70. 25.5cm × 19cm. British Library, London.

11. Map of the Holy Land from *Chronica Majora*, Volume 1, opaque watercolour and ink on parchment, *circa* 1240-53, written and illustrated by Matthew Paris (*circa* 1200-1259). 38.3cm × 26.8cm × 6.3cm. The Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

12. Incense box, brass, gold, silver and black compound, 14th century. 7.5cm × 11.5cm. Museum of Islamic Art, Doha.

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The exhibition's extensive array of jewelled crosses and exquisite reliquaries, including the heavily encrusted *Chasse of Ambazac*, made of copper, enamel, crystal, semi-precious stones, faience and glass, *circa* 1180-90, represent a fixed ideal of Jerusalem in medieval Christian thought. As does the woodcut map of Jerusalem from Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Journey to the Holy Land* of 1486 which is a kind of proto-Baedeker, a tourist's guide to the medieval city.

For Jewish pilgrims, however, Jerusalem presented a double image: a sacred city defined by its absent temple. Jewish reports tend to superimpose an image of destruction over the experience of the growing Jerusalem of the late medieval period. The poet Yehuda al-Harizi (1165-1225) felt that his days in the city were '*carved from rubies… cut from the tree of life, or stolen from the stars of heaven*'. Yet each day he and his companions would '*walk about on its graves and its monuments to weep over Zion, and to lament over the destruction of her palaces and the remnant of her buildings*'.

The report of the Italian-Jewish merchant Meshullam of Volterra (*circa* 1443-*circa* 1507), a correspondent of Lorenzo de Medici, shows this double vision: '*The land flows with milk and honey, although it is hilly and ruined and desolate.*'

In truth, the energetic destruction of warfare was followed by even more energetic construction. The Crusaders, and the Muslim rulers who preceded and followed them, put their stamp on Jerusalem and the sacred sites of the region

with their ideologies while they enriched it with their patronage. When Saladin rebuilt the sacred compound of the Haram al-Sharif after his conquest, he perfumed the interior of the Dome of the Rock with rosewater. The exhibition displays an exquisite array of mosque lamps of Sultan Barquq (d 1399), as well as five beautifully carved, 11th-century limestone capitals from columns in the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth.

In *The Generosity of Patrons* section of the exhbition we meet two less well-known personalities who altered the fabric of Jerusalem. First, Melisende, the Frankish-Armenian queen of Jerusalem from 1131 to 1153, who gave generous endowments to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Hospital of the Knights of Malta. She also received the richly illuminated and jewelled *Melisende Psalter*, probably commissioned by her husband, King Fulk, and created in a distinctively Jerusalemite style by artisans working in the *scriptorium* of the Holy Sepulchre. Then, two centuries later, came the Mamluk sultan al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qala'un (1285-1341) who obtained some 40 pieces of luxury metalwork, six of which are reunited here. The most striking is a domed incense-box in brass with delicate silver inlay, its shape evoking al-Nasir's restoration of the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque.

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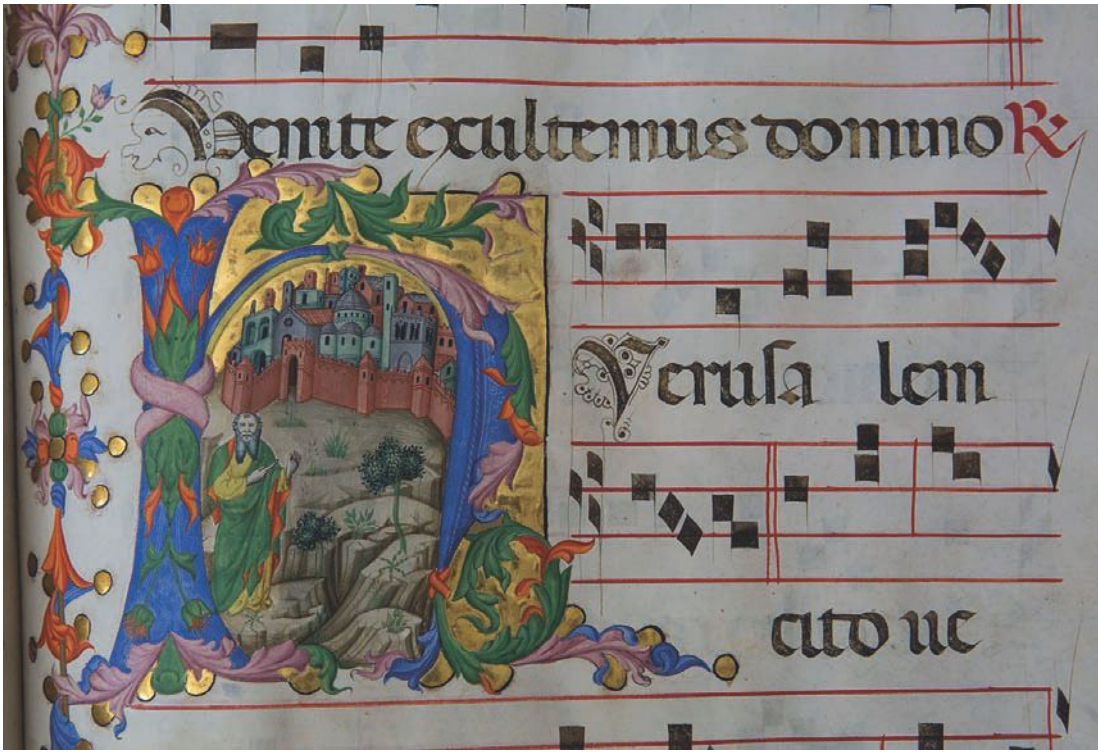

13. *The Prophet Isaiah at the Walls of Jerusalem* by Andrea di Bartolo (active in Siena and Venice, gold, tempera, and ink on parchment, *circa* 1401-4, made for the Franciscan community of Bethlehem *circa* 1380-1429). 56cm × 39cm. Terra Sancta Museum, Bibliotheca Custodialis, Jerusalem.

In the section soberly named *The Drumbeat of Holy War*, we are shown how art served the aims of crusade and *jihad*. An elegant limestone tomb effigy from the Cistercian Abbey of La Clarté-Dieu near Tours (*circa* 1247-67), portrays a Crusader knight of the d'Aluye family entering eternity in full armour, praying with his shield at his side. While, in an Arabic manuscript made for Saladin, designs for weaponry appear as fine goldsmiths' work.

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These objects highlight two paradoxes. One is how can creative impulses serve destruction and objects of beauty incite their viewers to violence; the other concerns the medieval paradox of what we now refer to as 'inter-faith' relations. A distinctive feature of the medieval mentality was its inability to separate religion and politics. Historians now argue over how much of the rhetoric of crusade and *jihad* was religious, and how much was the language of imperialism.

Then again, the medieval mind, Christian or Muslim, did maintain separate compartments for war and business. Apart from the Crusader siege of 1099, when the populace was murdered wholesale for religious reasons, the people of Jerusalem were generally engaged in productive retail. Their livelihoods depended in large part on the pilgrim and relic trade. For Jerusalem was a provincial city and its economy depended on stable, imperial connections as the mixture of peoples and religions in an empire tends to foster a certain practical tolerance.

These factors, as much as religious injunctions, created the repeated images of tolerance that appear throughout *Jerusalem 1000-1400*. Muslims follow in the footsteps of Christians when they pray at the tombs of biblical figures. In

the mid-13th century, Rabbi Jacob, an emissary from Paris, views the site of the Jewish temples and notes that '*the Ishmailite Kings have built a very beautiful building for a house of prayer and erected on the top a very fine cupola*'. While Christian pilgrims prepare to enter the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by washing their hair and eating in the inauspiciously named Malquisinat Street, or the 'Street of Bad Cooking' (so-called because there fast, not very good, food was made only for travellers), both Jews and Christians at the Tombs of the Patriarchs in Hebron share in Sultan al-Nasir's (1285-1341) charitable distribution of lentil stew and bread during the Islamic afternoon prayer. Jerusalem would not be Jerusalem, though, if these human moments did not resound with metaphysical import.

Entitled *The Promise of Eternity*, the exhibition ends amid images of perfection – a source of Jerusalem's eternal appeal and of its violent history. For, as Meshullam of Volterra discovered at Hebron, there can be no free lunch when everything on the menu tastes divine. As he wrote in a letter to Lorenzo de Medici in 1471-72: '*In honour of Abraham, they distribute bread, tongues in mustard and delicious veal, such as Abraham gave to the angels, and in honour of Isaac, venison and delicacies such as he loved, and in honour of Jacob, bread and lentil stew, such as he gave to Esau.*'

Food remains central to the glorious diversity of Jerusalem the Golden, the city where every stone and even every lentil is loaded with religious meaning. ■

14. Reliquary cross, Limoges, probably Abbey of Grandmont, France, gilded silver, rock crystal, glass, and wood, *circa* 1180. H. 29.8cm. W. 12.5cm. D. 2.5cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

15. The Saint Matthew Capital, limestone, early 1170s. 42cm × 54cm × 47cm. Terra Sancta Museum, Basilica of the Annunciation, Nazareth.

16. The Virgin and Apostle Capital, limestone, early 1170s. 62cm × 72cm × 34cm. Terra Sancta Museum, Basilica of the Annunciation, Nazareth.

• *Jerusalem 1000-1400: Every People Under Heaven* **is on show at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (www.metmuseum.org) from 26 September 2016 until 8 January 2017. The exhibition catalogue, edited by Barbara Drake Boehm and Melanie Holcomb, is published in hardback at £50/$75.**

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What's your *poison?*

Erich B Anderson delves into the murky practices of *veneficium* and *pharmaka* in the Graeco-Roman World

In AD 19 Germanicus (**3**), the popular 34-year-old hero of the Roman army and overall commander of the legions of the Eastern provinces, was suddenly stricken by an illness that proved fatal. There was no doubt in the general's mind that he had been poisoned and he knew that the only person who would dare to strike at him in such a manner was Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso (*circa* 44 BC-AD 20), the governor of Syria, who had tried to undermine his authority.

But before Piso could be caught and put on trial, he fled from Syria. According to Tacitus, when Germanicus' men searched through the governor's home they found '*human bodies, spells, curses, leaden tablets engraved with the name of Germanicus, charred and blood-smeared ashes and others of the implements of witchcraft*' (*Annals*, 2.69.3).

In AD 20 Piso was put on trial in Rome in front of the Senate but, although his accusers proved that Germanicus was poisoned, Piso maintained his innocence and denied he played any part in the murder. Ostensibly he committed suicide before sentence was passed although some believed he, too, was murdered.

The death of Germanicus (**7**) and the trial of Piso show just how closely poison was associated with sorcery in Roman times. The crime of poisoning was known as *veneficium*. Yet the Latin term *venena* did not only mean 'poisons', it was also used to describe potions and other magical substances. So, a *veneficus* could be either a poisoner or a sorcerer, or sorceress, skilled in magic, or both.

1. Roman marble sculpture of triple Hecate, known as the *Hecate Chiaramonti*, goddess of magic, a copy of a Hellenistic original. Museo Chiaramonti, Vatican Museums. Photograph: Marie-Lan Nguyen.

2. *The Night of Enitharmon's Joy*, also referred to as *Hecate* or *The Triple Hecate*, 1795, watercolour by William Blake. 44cm × 58cm. Tate Gallery, London. Photograph: The Yorck Project.

3. Marble bust of Germanicus, who was fatally poisoned. Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse. Photograph: Pierre Selim.

This strong link between magic and poison originated in Greek mythology: Hecate (**1** and **2**), the often triple headed goddess of magic, crossroads, ghosts and necromancy, was a sorceress with a deep knowledge of poisons. According to Ovid in *Metamorphoses* (14.55-62), it was Hecate who taught the enchantress Circe spells, which she combined with the use of poisonous herbs to attack her rival, the beautiful nymph Scylla:

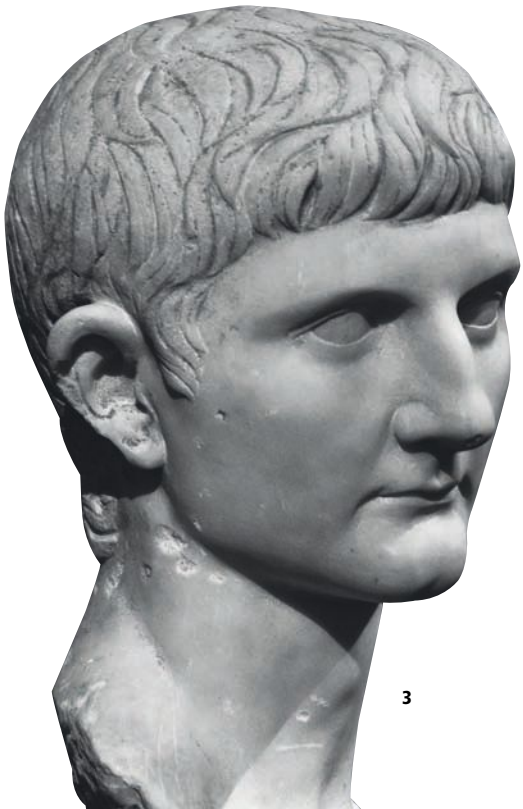
And Circe dyed this pool with bitter poisons,
Poured liquids brewed from evil roots, and murmured,
With lips well-skilled in magic, and thrice nine times,
A charm, obscure with labyrinthine language.

There Scylla came; she waded into the water,
Waist-deep, and suddenly saw her loins disfigured
With barking monsters, and at first she could not
Believe that these were parts of her own body.

The tale of Circe (**4**) using poison to transform the lovely Scylla into a monster is not the only time she employs magical potions to achieve her nefarious ends. In the *Odyssey*, Homer tells us that Circe gave his hero a drink containing *pharmaka* that would transform him into a pig – she had already turned his crew into swine. But, luckily for Odysseus, the god Hermes had supplied him with a plant called *moly* that countered these magical effects.

Poison also played a central role in the story of the demi-god Herakles. After slaying the Lernean Hydra, the epic warrior dipped the tips of his arrows into the venom still in the creature's carcass. Herakles went on to use the poisonous arrows on several occasions, but this often led to tragedy for the hero or those closest to him. The poisoned arrows caused the death of two of his friends, Chiron and Pholus, and another was responsible for Herakles' own demise.

When the centaur Nessus kidnapped Herakles' wife, Deianeira, the hero fired one of the venom-tipped arrows into the creature's back. The missile penetrated deep and struck Nessus' heart but, before he died, he gave Deianeira his blood-soaked tunic, telling her that it had aphrodisiac powers. Years later, hearing that she had a rival for Herakles' affection, she sent her servant Lichas (**5**) to him



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with the magnificent tunic (still stained with the toxic blood) hoping that it would make her more attractive to him. But the minute Herakles put it on, he felt such horrific pain that he burned himself alive to end his suffering.

As well as appearing in mythology, the term *pharmakis* (witch) also crops up in plays, such as *The Clouds* by Aristophanes. It describes any sorceress that could be hired in Thessaly, the birthplace of witchcraft in ancient Greece – not surprisingly it was Medea's homeland.

Plato, on the other hand, had a much more rational, practical, 'modern' view on what he referred to as the two different types of magic known as *pharmakeia*. The first kind was essentially psychological – it generated fear in its victims. The second was any substance, such as poison found in food or drink, that caused harmful biological effects. If someone was harmed by a *pharmakon*, Plato thought that it had more to do with toxins in the substance rather than any magical qualities.

But even if the nature of poison was not entirely understood, the Greeks were fully aware that certain individuals knew the effects of *pharmaka* and that they used them to deliberately harm others. For this reason, special laws were created to deal with crimes involving poison, and trials were held to determine whether the accused knew the substances they had given to the victim were harmful or not.

Like homicide, cases in which *pharmaka* caused the death of an individual were tried at the Areopagus in Athens, the most important court of the city-state. If the court found the accused guilty of murder using poison, execution was the punishment that followed, unless the guilty party managed to escape before the final verdict was proclaimed. But, even if the criminals escaped with their lives, they were forced into exile in perpetuity, or, as a 5th-century BC inscription, known as the Teian Curses states, the penalty could be far worse. If someone was found guilty of the manufacture of harmful *pharmaka* in Teos (near modern Izmir), the entire family of the accused was executed together with the criminal.

A common trend for the accused in Greek poison cases was that they claimed that the *pharmakon* they had given to the victim was a love-potion and they were completely

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unaware of its negative effects. Many accused wives even cited the story of Deianeira accidentally poisoning Herakles when she thought she was giving him a love-potion in their defence.

As it was often unclear as to exactly what ingredients *pharmaka* contained, or whether or not those substances were toxic, it was very difficult to provide evidence of criminal intent. One of the most well-known cases concerning poisons and love-potions occurred in Athens in 420 BC and is described in the speech *Against the Stepmother* by Antiphon. A man named Philoneus was preparing to sell his concubine but, before he could do so, she gave him and his friend wine containing a *pharmakon*. Because the desperate concubine wanted the love-potion to have a greater effect on Philoneus she gave him much more of the concoction and he died instantly, while his friend suffered for 20 days before meeting his end. The former mistress-slave was then immediately tried for murder, found guilty, tortured and executed.

What made the Attic poison case even more complicated was that before the death of the friend, he told Philoneus' son that his stepmother was the real culprit behind the murder for she had given the naive concubine the supposed love-potion, knowing that it was poison. He knew Philoneus' wife had attempted to kill him before, thus her plan had succeeded the second time. The victim's son pleaded with the Areopagus to convict his stepmother. It is not known whether or not the stepmother was found guilty for the crime of supplying the mistress with the *pharmakon*, but what is certain is that the prosecutor had to prove that the stepmother intended to kill the two men with the substance. Otherwise, it was simply a love-potion that failed to work, with disastrous consequences.

According to Livy, the first trial involving *veneficium* on the Roman record occurred in 331 BC. Similar to Greek poison cases, the trial centred on the difficulty of determining whether a substance was medicine or poison. After many male aristocrats had become ill from some unknown sickness, a maidservant confessed to the Senate that she knew several matrons were manufacturing *venena*. When the matrons were caught in the act, it was discovered that some 20 noblewomen may have been involved.

Two of the accused, Sergia and Cornelia, were adamant that their intention was to create *medicamenta* (medicine), not poison. The noblewomen were then challenged to consume their supposed medicine. Eventually, all agreed to drink the concoctions and every one of them died shortly afterwards.

Several other cases involving *veneficium* or *pharmaka* in the Graeco-Roman world centred on the trial of sorceresses, mages and witches involved in all sorts of witchcraft, not just poisoning. In the 350s or 340s BC, for example, the priestess Nino was put to death for manufacturing *pharmaka*, and for many other crimes. Furthermore, around 338 BC, a witch named Theoris was tried and executed with her whole family when found guilty of selling incantations and *pharmaka*.

Yet not all poison experts were put on trial and charged. King Mithridates VI of Pontus (r 120-63 BC), who was fascinated by poisons and their cures, was almost always escorted by a group of Scythian shamans who had a deep knowledge of noxious substances and healing potions. Mithridates himself (8) even experimented with *pharmaka* on prisoners in order to develop antidotes to various poisons. He made 54 in all.

For several centuries there was no permanent court in Rome to deal with crimes involving poison, so each individual case was tried in a special court. However, over the years there were so many Roman poison cases that, by 81 BC, the dictator Sulla added legislation against poisoners and sorcerers to the already established Cornelian law on homicide. From then on the law, known as the *Lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis*, was expanded not only to deal with assassins (*sicariis*), but also became the primary legislation for any case against magic. The new law for *veneficium* was applied to many poison cases, including the charge against Piso for the murder of Germanicus.

On the other hand, at a trial held in AD 158-59 the philosopher Apuleius of Madaura (*circa* AD 70-*circa* 124) was prosecuted under the Cornelian law even though he was not actually charged with poisoning (*veneficium*). After Apuleius married a wealthy widow, Aemilia Pudentilla, her jealous relatives who wanted to get their hands on her inheritance accused her husband of being a sorcerer who used erotic magic to compel her to fall

4. *Circe Offering the Cup to Ulysses*, 1891, oil painting by John William Waterhouse. 175cm × 92cm. Gallery Oldham, Oldham.

5. Woodcut showing Lichas delivering the poisoned garment of Nessus to Herakles, taken from *The Labours of Herakles* by Hans Sebald Beham, 1542-1548. Photograph: Nick Michael.

6. Cast of a bust portrait of Emperor Tiberius. Ara Pacis Museum, Rome. Photograph: Giovanni Dall'Orto.

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in love with him. His accusers cited several examples of his strange actions in order to prove their case, one of which was asking his slave to acquire a poisonous type of mollusc. The speech Apuleius gave in his own defence before Claudius Maximus, the proconsul of Africa, was however so convincing that the charge was ultimately dropped.

The law on *veneficium* may have worked in many homicide cases but, by the time of the Imperial Era, the rulers of Rome had grown so powerful they had become impervious to such legislation. Although Piso was put on trial for the murder of Germanicus his uncle, Tiberius (r AD 14-37) almost certainly appointed Piso as governor in order to check the rising power of his nephew who was a direct successor to the imperial title. Tiberius (6) may have even approved of the poisoning in order to remove the threat posed by his popular nephew, but he was never officially accused.

Nero (r AD 54-68) was considerably more blatant when defying the poison law. Like Mithridates, Nero (9) brought a poison expert into his service, the notorious Locusta. Following his orders, Locusta created a poison and slipped it into a drink for the emperor's half-brother, Britannicus. Once the boy drank the concoction, he immediately began to convulse violently and died shortly afterwards. Many at the dinner suspected Nero but no one dared to accuse him, the body was removed and the dinner resumed. Despite the emperors' disregard for the *veneficium* law, poison cases were still tried in the Roman empire, but as Christianity rapidly grew in popularity, the legislation began to change. Eventually, the intent behind the use of *venena* no longer mattered because every type of magic potion and poison was seen as pagan and heretical, and so illegal, regardless of intention. ■

7. *The Death of Germanicus*, 1627, oil painting by Nicolas Poussin. 148cm × 196.5cm. Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis. Photograph: The Yorck Project.

8. Marble sculpture of King Mithridates VI of Pontus as Herakles, 1st century AD. H. 35cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photograph: Eric Gaba.

9. Emperor Nero and Agrippina from between AD 54-59. Aphrodisias Museum, Turkey. Photograph: Carlos Delgado.

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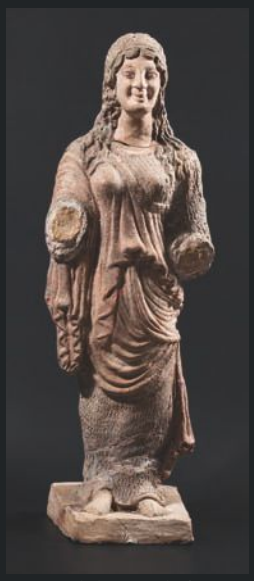
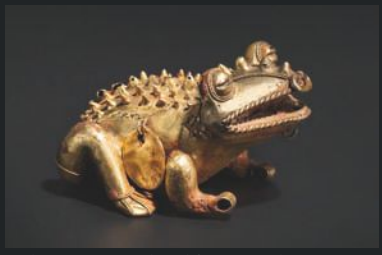
An Apulian red-figured hydria attributed to the Baltimore painter, last third of the 4th century B.C.



A Greek late archaic Terracotta sculpture of a Kore, late 6th century B.C.

A Hittite silver sheet-inlaid bronze bull, 16th -15th century B.C.



A large Pre-Columbian "tumbaga"-toad (length 14.5 cm), Zenú culture, 9th-15th century

A Roman bronze legionary's helmet of the Weisenau type, late 1st - early 2nd century A.D.

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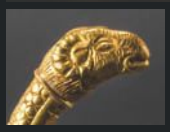

A Greek ram-headed gold bracelet, 5th century B.C.

A Safavid "Cuerda Seca" tile, Persia, 17th century

Two late Hellenistic/ early Roman silver bowls, 1st century B.C. - 1st century A.D.

A late Roman stone mosaic panel, 4th - 5th century A.D.

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1. A 5000-year-old Neolithic stone axe, made of Langdale tuff quarried in the Lake District, found near the Devil's Quoits henge monument Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire. L. 21cm. W. 7cm (max). Photograph: Aaron Hayden © Thames & Hudson.

The *Axe* of time

David Miles explains how this polished icon of the Neolithic Revolution transformed ancient Britain and the world

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2. Wayland's Smithy (*circa* 3460-3400 BC), a Neolithic long barrow in Oxfordshire, with its entrance facade of sarsen stone. Beneath this great barrow is an earlier (3610-3550 BC) burial chamber containing the bones of victims of a raid. © Robert Estall/Corbis.

It is not every day that someone brings you a 5000-year-old gift but it happened to me during the 1970s. We were living in Woodstock – the English Woodstock, near Oxford – when there was a knock at the door. I opened it to find a man holding a sports bag, who introduced himself as Bob. '*I work in a gravel pit at Stanton Harcourt*,' he said, '*and a couple of years ago I noticed this thing on the conveyor belt. I heard you were an archaeologist so I thought you might be interested*.'

That said, he stuck his hand deep into the bag and pulled out a smooth greenish object: it was a large, Neolithic, polished stone axe head. To hold such a thing, a survivor from our ancient past, is always a thrill. There is a kind of magic in an object that has time-travelled; a stone, in itself millions of years old, that has been crafted and transformed into something – heavy, smooth and solid – by someone thousands of years ago.

A polished axe head such as this is an icon of the Neolithic Age: a tool that enabled the first farmers to cut down forests, a religious symbol, an object of trade and gift-giving, and an indicator of status, often placed in ritual deposits. As Professor Alasdair Whittle of Cardiff University has said: '*The study of the Neolithic began with a polished stone axe*.' The stone axe is more than a mere tool: it is an object that can take us on a voyage through space and time and into the minds of our ancestors.

The Neolithic, or New Stone Age, is defined by the change in stone technology from chipping stone artefacts to polishing them. The Neolithic is also associated with the domestication of plants and animals, the human impact on the landscape, the creation of settled communities and ultimately cities, and the development of civilisation with all its benefits and evils.

During my 40-year career as an archaeologist, the study of human origins and the emergence of farming has been transformed by a *tsunami* of data. Aerial and satellite photography, LiDAR and geophysical survey have revealed ancient landscapes on a huge scale. In Western Europe archaeological excavations, in advance of road and rail building, quarrying and urban development, have allowed the detailed investigation of whole settlement complexes.

Genetics, isotopic analysis, the recovery of plant and animal remains, the chemical analysis of artefacts have transformed our ability to see into the past. Most important of all, the increasing accuracy of dating methods has

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3. The Stones of Stenness in Orkney, Scotland, is part of a ritual landscape that includes the Ring of Brodgar and Maeshowe.

brought a precision to prehistory that would astound and delight archaeologists of earlier generations, such as Vere Gordon Childe who, in the 1930s, highlighted the fundamental importance of the Neolithic Revolution and stimulated a generation of multidisciplinary researchers.

In recent decades there have been spectacular advances in our understanding of the emergence of modern humans. Without this exploration of deep time it is not possible to explain the emergence of food production in the Near East and other regions, from China, New Guinea and India to Central

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and South America. The roots of the Neolithic Revolution lie in the emergence of modern humans and the capabilities of the human mind. It was the hunter-gatherers of the Ice Age who developed the skills and knowledge that made domestication and farming possible once the harsh climate of the last glacial period had slackened its grip.

Over millennia the climate of the Ice Age fluctuated, sometimes rapidly; temperatures and sea-levels rose and fell. During the coldest spells hominins abandoned the fringes, like Britain, and sought more sheltered refuges. As the climatologist Bill Burroughs wrote: '*The climate is deeply etched into our genetic make-up. It may also lurk within our psyche*.'

Anatomically modern humans (AMHs) began to emerge in Africa about 200,000 years ago. The upward surge of the species was not inevitable. About 70,000 years ago there was a bottleneck in the human population (and in that of the human louse) suggesting that humans may have numbered only 15,000 to 40,000 in total – as rare as gorillas are today. The prime suspect for this near catastrophe is climate change caused by the massive volcanic eruption of Mount Toba (Indonesia)

4. Facade and interior of the passage grave of New Grange, County Meath, Ireland. The roof box above the entrance allows the sun's rays to reach the interior at midwinter. Before the entrance is a great stone carved with spirals and lozenge designs. © Photograph: Cary Bass-Deschenes.

5. The interior of the passage grave of New Grange. Only on the Winter Solstice (20/21 December) do the rays of the sun penetrate the tomb and flood it with light. © Duchas, The Heritage Service, Dublin.

6. A fired clay female figurine made around 26,000 years ago in Dolni Vestonice, Czech Republic. © Moravské Zemské Muzeum, Brno.

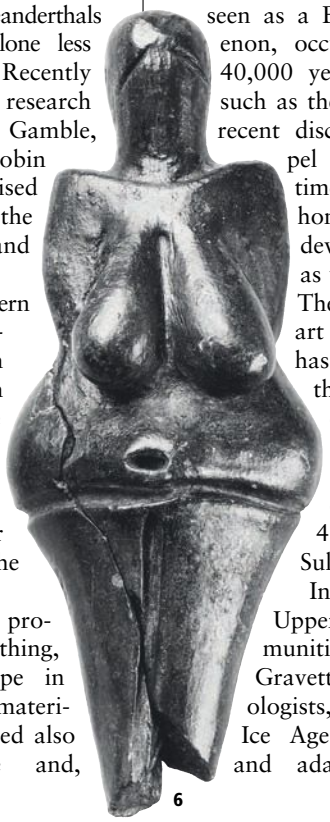
Nevertheless, from this rather precarious platform anatomically modern humans proved to be the most successful new kid on the block threatening the existence of our nearest cousins, the Neanderthals and Denisovans, let alone less closely related species. Recently the *Thinking Big* research project, led by Clive Gamble, John Gowlett and Robin Dunbar, has emphasised the importance of the the developing brain and the human mind.

Increasingly modern humans learnt to communicate not just with language but through objects too. We see the emergence of bodily decoration, more complex compound tools, art, a fondness for exotic materials and the creation of identities.

Bands of humans, protected by improved clothing, explored the landscape in search of food, useful materials such as stone, valued also for colour, texture and, perhaps, even mythical significance.

Humans in the Palaeolithic were practical geologists. Around 30 years ago the 'Human Revolution' – the appearance of the modern mind in action (represented by art, burials and complex tools) – was seen as a European phenomenon, occurring first about 40,000 years ago in places such as the Dordogne. More recent discoveries now propel it further back in time to our African homeland. There we developed our minds as well as our bodies. The discovery of rock art in Southeast Asia has also undermined the Eurocentric view of the revolution, with hand stencils and animal images dating to about 40,000 years ago in Sulawesi, Indonesia.

In Europe itself Upper Palaeolithic communities, labelled as Gravettian by archaeologists, coped with the Ice Age with great skill and adaptability, making



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shelters from the howling gales with mammoth bones, hides and turf. Some of these substantial dwellings were used over long periods. Predmostí, in the Czech Republic, a natural forested hollow in the tundra sited on an animal migration route, was a place to which hunting bands regularly returned and congregated over many millennia. If this was not quite 'settling down' in the sense usually associated with Neolithic farmers, it was not far off.

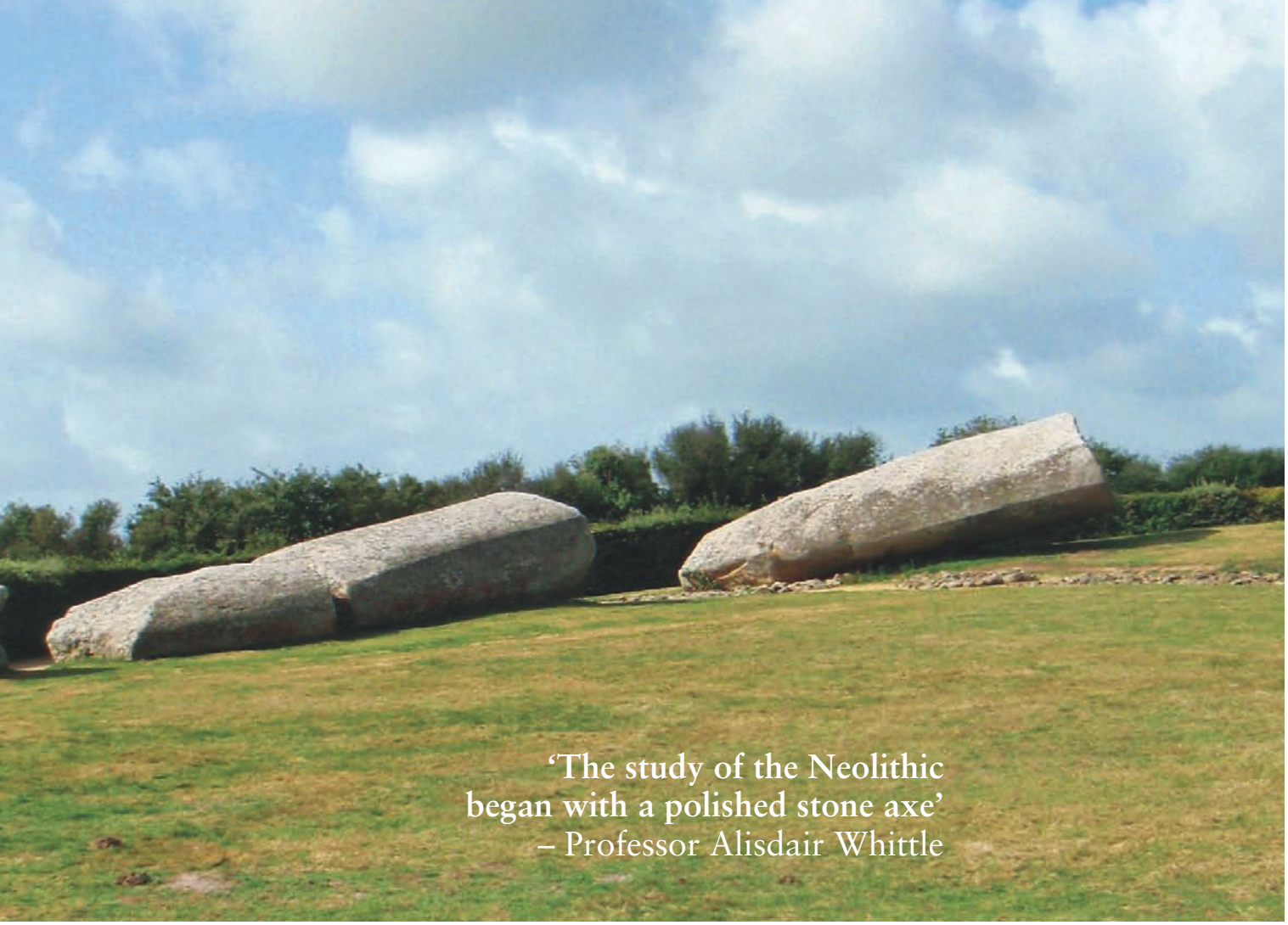
At another nearby settlement, at Dolní Vestonice, excavations have revealed dozens of dwellings and many artefacts. Most remarkable for this early period was the discovery of two kilns, technology that was often assumed to appear in the Neolithic or later. These had been used for firing figurines and clay pellets, showing a knowledge of pyrotechnics, of the properties of clay and ceramic technology 15,000 years before the advent of the Neolithic. In these communities the clay was not used to manufacture pots, rather the local artists created models of living figures. The most evocative are those of women with exaggerated female form – the substantial breasts, buttocks and hips, which would never be seen today on the catwalk, but could easily grace any museum of modern art.

These Gravettians were expert big game hunters, using flint-tipped spears designed to split on impact so that the haft could be re-used, and to drive herds of horses or reindeer into carefully positioned funnels and corrals. Significantly, they were also skilled at catching small animals, which required skilled fingers to twist, spin and knot fibres to make nets and snares. Small animals were not only a source of nutrition but also of furs, feathers and small bones for needles and hooks. Arguably these were the first people to domesticate another species – wolves became dogs and served as guards, companions, pack animals and fellow hunters.

The Czech hunters, like many others, valued exotic stone. Their black flint was beautiful stuff and came from a Russian source 150 kilometres away. They also possessed stone from southern Poland and they used radiolarite stone from Austria and Slovakia to make burins, specialist chisel-like tools used for working ivory and bone. Clearly these people were part of a very extensive social network – far more elaborate than those of the Neanderthals, who discarded ivory mammoth tusks as of no obvious value to them.

In the Gravettian world people transported material, such as amber and shells, over hundreds of kilometres from sources in the Baltic, on the Atlantic coast, the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. They made these objects into artefacts, which were not only functional but must also have been entangled in a web of relationships, of ideas, new technologies,

8. The excavation of the Neolithic cairn of Hazleton North, Gloucestershire. The burial passage and chambers are midway along the long axis. © Alan Saville.



‘The study of the Neolithic began with a polished stone axe’
– Professor Alisdair Whittle

memorials and myths. From South Wales to Italy, Portugal and Russia the Gravettian humans scattered ideas like seeds. The chains of social connection spread across continents. Objects imbued with symbolism demonstrate the common link. Later networks would bring plants and animals, mixing and adapting them in new environments.

Further to the south-east, on the shore of Lake Kinneret (the Sea of Galilee) about 23,000 years ago people were adapting to their environment in different ways to the Gravettians, but with equal skill. In 1989 the water level in the lake dropped dramatically revealing the outline of a very ancient hunter-gatherer camp. Here, at Ohala II, as the site is now known, the preservation of organic materials was stunningly good. It revealed that in this relatively mild refuge during the late Ice Age, humans had developed remarkable knowledge of plants as well as animals. The domed houses, the oldest of their kind anywhere in the world, were woven from willow, pistachio, oak and tamarisk. Bundles of grass provided bedding bound with rope and nets. These people made the most of their flint by manufacturing microliths, small blades to fit into compound tools.

This technology is associated with the Mesolithic 13,000 years later in northern Europe. Microliths could be hafted to make reaping tools to harvest cereals or grasses. The Ohalo stone toolmakers also developed the knack of polishing the sharp edges of axes and adzes. Here, we find the roots of our polished stone axe.

7. The Grand Menhir Brise, Brittany. The huge, axe-shaped stone, now fallen, was once the largest menhir in this region of many imposing standing stones. Photograph: Myrabella.

The Ohalo II people lived in a varied mosaic of landscape. In the lakeside parkland grew oak, almond, pistachio, fig and olive trees. On the open country grazed wild gazelle, ass, goat, boar and auroch (wild cattle). The Ohalo people caught about 80 different varieties of bird, from marshland waders to raptors, and in the Sea of Galilee they harvested shoals of small fish with nets. Traces of seeds, nuts and berries indicate that they also used more than 140 varieties of edible plants.

The climate would undergo severe fluctuations before becoming milder and more stable in Western Asia and Europe. When the opportunity presented itself, about 12,000 years ago, the human population was able to draw on its knowledge of plants and animals, its ancient technologies and the wisdom accumulated by generations of contact between communities to begin the process of domestication. This interaction between plants, animals and human communities would ultimately lead to full blown farming and the transformation of the environment.

From the Near East farming populations, their livestock and plants spread westwards into Europe, first into Greece and the Balkans, then along the Danube and Central Europe and around the Mediterranean. The farming model was successfully transformed to fit different environments and cultural priorities. Pale-skinned northerners developed lactose tolerance and a fondness for milk, for the flocks of sheep, the herds of cattle and even reindeer which would create northern landscapes.

But not everyone saw the immediate benefits of the new way of life with its hard work and drudgery. In places, the advance of the Neolithic stuttered. It took several centuries to cross the Channel from France into the British Isles (even then recently separated from Europe).

Our polished stone axe was quarried and manufactured from greenstone found at Great Langdale, in the English Lake District. In recent years arguments have raged among British archaeologists. Did immigrants from the Continent cross the Channel with new plants and animals – cereals and sheep, ultimately

descended from species native to the Near East? Or did indigenous hunter-gatherers themselves pick and choose those elements of the farming package that suited them?

We now know that the earliest British farming communities developed in the Thames and Medway estuaries around 4100 BC. Evidence suggests that they came from the French or even Belgian coast. Excavations for the Channel Tunnel Rail Link in Kent, at White Horse Stone, revealed the first large rectangular timber houses, domesticated cereals and pottery in the British Isles. These farming communities later constructed megalithic tombs from sarsen rocks and causewayed enclosures.

A distinctive Neolithic culture rapidly spread across the British Isles into Wessex, Yorkshire, Scotland and Ireland. It was the start of a tradition culminating in the monuments of the Boyne Valley, in Orkney and at Stonehenge.

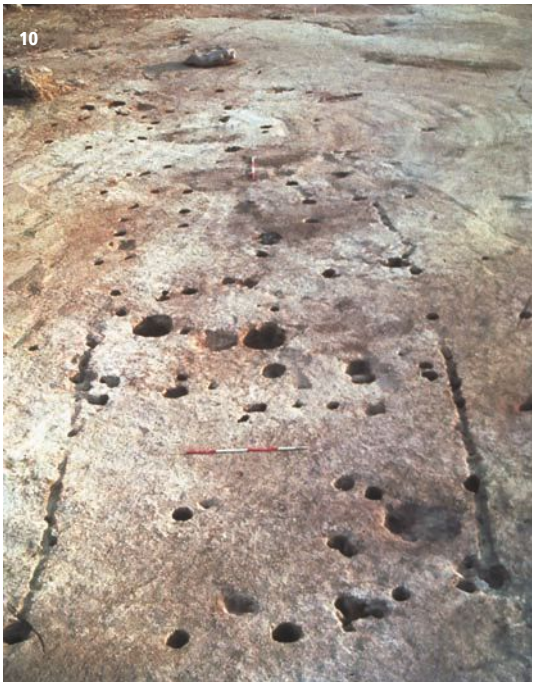
The earliest and most spectacular Neolithic axes in Britain were transported from Monte Viso on the French-Italian border, probably via Brittany where they are found in large numbers and where their images are carved on megalithic tomb walls. This spectacular jadeitite was a high status material of symbolic rather than functional value. As supplies dried up in Britain, Neolithic farmers sought other sources: in Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, the Lake District and even Pembrokeshire, the source of Stonehenge's Bluestones.

It is probably no coincidence that the polished greenstone axe, that Bob brought to my frontdoor, was found just outside a great henge monument, the Devil's Quoits at Stanton Harcourt in Oxfordshire, where it may have been deliberately deposited.

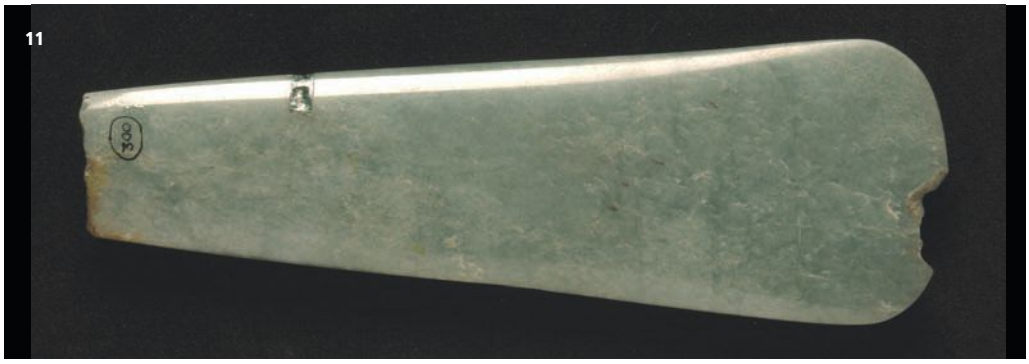
By the middle of the third millennium BC new metal technologies had spread from the Near East, across Europe to Britain. A 'gold rush' hit Ireland and skilled immigrants came in search of tin to make bronze. The remarkable and unique timber monument, known as Seahenge, preserved beneath the coastal peat at Holme-next-the-Sea on the Norfolk coast, showed the impact of many bronze axes. The age of the stone axe was at an end.

Human genius has taken us from the polished stone axe to the Kepler Space Mission: it set in motion the rise of cities, of population increase, of industrialisation and the rise of the Anthropocene. But the question remains: will we learn to care for this unique planet and its increasing number of inhabitants? ■

9. The timber circle at Holme-next-the-Sea on the Norfolk coast, popularly known as Seahenge. The outer ring forms a continuous wall of oak and there is an inverted oak bole in the centre. There are dark traces of the peat that once blanketed and preserved the monument before the sea encroached on it. Photograph: Thames & Hudson.



10. Traces of the White Horse Stone longhouse in Kent, possibly the earliest Neolithic building in Britain. © Oxford Archaeology



11. Made of jadeitite, a fine axe from Monte Viso (on the Italian-French border) found its way to Wiltshire about 6000 years ago. It is now on show in the Wiltshire Museum in Devizes. L. 20.8cm. W. 6.8cm. D. 1.4cm. © C Vancoillie/ Shutterstock.

• *The Tale of the Axe: How the Neolithic Revolution Transformed Britain* **by David Miles is published in hardback by Thames & Hudson at £19.95.**

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1

Deadlier than the male

Paul Chrystal looks at the roles played by women in war across the ancient Greek and Roman worlds – some wielded weapons and led armies; others were a catalyst for conflict

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No Greek or Roman woman was ever conscripted, press-ganged, volunteered or signed up into the ranks of a Greek or Roman army. Unlike today (from November, women will be able to take a close combat frontline role in the British Army) there was simply no place for women in the ancient armed services. However, a survey of Greek and Roman sources shows clearly that they played a significant role in many aspects of warfare, ranging from being the catalyst for conflict to betraying their people to wielding weapons themelves. For example, legend tells how Rome was betrayed to the Sabines by a traitorous local maiden named Tarpeia (**7**). But instead of being rewarded by the Sabines, she was crushed to death and then thrown from what is still known as the Tarpeian Rock on the Capitoline Hill in Rome.

1. *Amazonomachy* on an Attic *lekythos*, *circa* 420 BC. Crescent shields, short tunics and patterned leggings identify these female warriors as 'Persian'. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

2. Amazon on a mosaic found in the Orpheus House on Paphos, late 2nd-early 3rd century AD. © Fondation Culturelle de la Banque de Chypre.

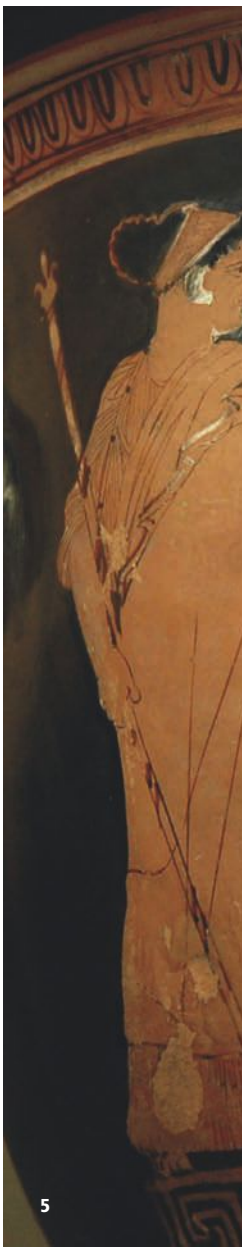
Homer and Ancient Greek tragedians tell us how women were both indirectly responsible for causing major conflicts and also how they interceded with male heroes in the wars that followed the Trojan War. In the *Iliad* (**3**, **4** and **5**) and the *Odyssey* Homer transmitted stories and legends embedded in cultures well established before, and after, the days that he and others describe in their poems.

Moreover, it seems that the further away we move from the epicentres of the two civilisations of Greece and Rome then the more significant the role played by women in fighting or prosecuting wars and formulating the foreign policy that led to war or peace. Egyptian, Persian (**1**), Macedonian and Germano-Celtic women (**6**) all exhibit signs of belligerence that are foreign, repugnant even, to the established norms in Athens or Rome. The Iceni queen Boudicca who took a stand against the Romans in AD 61 is, of course, the best-known female warrior, but there are several others.

Tomyris, for example, the queen of the Scythian Massagetae from central Asia, is famous for slaying the Persian king Cyrus the Great, founder of the Achaemenid Empire, when he invaded her country. Cyrus (*circa* 576-530 BC) made the mistake of trying to dupe Tomyris' army, which was under the command of her son, Spargapises, into drinking lots of wine while at battle readiness. He had slyly left a stash behind on the battlefield when his army withdrew. Scythians, however, were not accustomed to drinking wine, being much more partial to hashish and fermented mare's milk; accordingly, they drank themselves stupid and were victoriously attacked by Cyrus' Persians while under the influence.

When Spargapises was captured he decided to end it all, so he persuaded Cyrus to remove his shackles and then promptly committed suicide. As a result, his vengeful mother Queen Tomyris challenged Cyrus to a second battle, promising to give him his fill of blood. In his *Histories* (1.24) Herodotus melodramatically describes it as the '*fiercest of all battles waged between the barbarians*'. When the queen was victorious, she had Cyrus' crucified and his head cut off and put into a wineskin full of human blood, thus fulfilling her promise.

Then there was Phila (d 287 BC), daughter of Antipater, the regent of Macedonia. Regarded by ancient authorities as one of the finest women of her age, her conspicuous acuity and political astuteness meant she was much in demand as an advisor in her father's political affairs. Phila played an influential part in the aftermath of the Battle of Ipsus in 301 BC when Demetrius sent her as an envoy to their disaffected brother, Cassander, in Macedonia, to effect a reconciliation and to forge a treaty. After



this, she returned to Cyprus where, in 295 BC, she was besieged in Salamis by Ptolemy I, king of Egypt, and forced to surrender. Nevertheless, the king treated her with respect, and sent her and her children back to safety in Macedonia. Unfortunately, in 287 BC, Demetrius was deposed in a coup and exiled by the popular Pyrrhus. Phila could do nothing to resolve the opposition from, and lack of support by, the people of Macedonia at large. Rather than face exile from Macedonia, she took her own life by drinking poison at Cassandreia.

Onomaris is interesting not least because the only surviving source we have for her is the obscure, anonymous *Tractatus de Mulieribus*, probably written at the end of the 1st century BC, which tells the stories of 14 famous women. Said to have lived around the 4th century BC, Onomaris was a distinguished Galatian, from a Gaulish-Celtic tribe, who showed great leadership and military prowess. When her country was beset by '*scarcity*' she took control of events because no man was willing to lead the Galatians to a new, more rewarding, life elsewhere. In this respect she is reminiscent of Artemisia I who also came forward to take up power in the absence of any man.

Onomaris pooled all the resources owned by her tribe, presumably in order to eliminate any feelings of envy and superiority and to foster communal ownership, and then led her people over the River Ister (Danube) in a mass emigration. She went on to defeat the locals and rule their new land. Onomaris typifies the high social status often enjoyed by Celtic women, some of whom, such as Boudicca and Cartimandua, rose to prominence as leaders of men.

Then there is a famous female pirate called Teuta, who was queen regent of the Ardiaei tribe in Illyria; she succeeded her alcoholic husband Agron and reigned from about 231 BC to 227 BC, acting as regent for

3. An Egyptian papyrus fragment, 4th century BC, showing the Abduction of Briseis by Talthybius and Eurybates from the *Iliad* (Book 1, lines 330–348). © Bavarian State Library, Munich.

4. A scene from the *Iliad* on a Apulian red-figure *column-crater*, *circa* 370-360 BC. In it, Astyanax, on Andromache's knee, reaches out to touch his father Hector's helmet before his duel with Achilles. © Museo Nazionale of the Palazzo Jatta, Ruvo di Puglia, Bari.

5. On an Attic red figure *crater*, *circa* 450-440 BC, found in Gnathia, Italy, Menelaus means to strike Helen but Aphrodite (left) and Eros, the flying God of Love, intervene to influence him and he is overwhelmed by her beauty and drops his sword. © Musée du Louvre, Paris.

her young stepson Pinnes. The trouble started when Teuta supported her subjects' piracy against neighbouring states. Things began to escalate when Teuta captured and later fortified Dyrrachium and Phoenice (modern Durrës and Finiq in Albania).

Her ships raided a flotilla of Roman merchant vessels, after which Teuta's forces extended their piratical operations further southward into the Ionian Sea enabling Teuta to attack the crucial Roman trade routes between mainland Greece and the Greek cities in Magna Graecia. Two ambassadors were sent from Rome to Scodra (Shkodër), Teuta's capital, to demand reparations and an end to piracy.

Queen Teuta's response was that, according to Illyrian law, piracy was a legal trade and that her government had no right to interfere in what was effectively private enterprise and that '*it was never the custom of royalty to prevent any advantage its subjects could get from the sea*'. The envoys, who had shown her little respect, were not impressed and Teuta imprudently sanctioned the murder of one and imprisoned the other. Rome reacted on a massive scale mobilising and setting sail with an army of 20,000 troops, 200 cavalry, and the entire fleet of 200 ships. This was the first time that Roman forces had crossed the Adriatic. They laid siege to Scodra and eventually Teuta surrendered in 227 BC. Although she survived, her power was severely restricted and she was forced to pay tribute to Rome.

When we think of gladiators, we think of men, because men did most of the fighting in the arena, as Hollywood films have frequently shown. However, women were not uncommon competitors in the amphitheatres around the Roman world, playing out the phoney fights and grappling in close combat, much to the delight and sexual titillation of the audiences. These women were usually warm-up acts, providing light relief in between the top-billing crowd-pleasers: the gruesome and gory acts featuring fighting men, beasts and religious non-conformists.

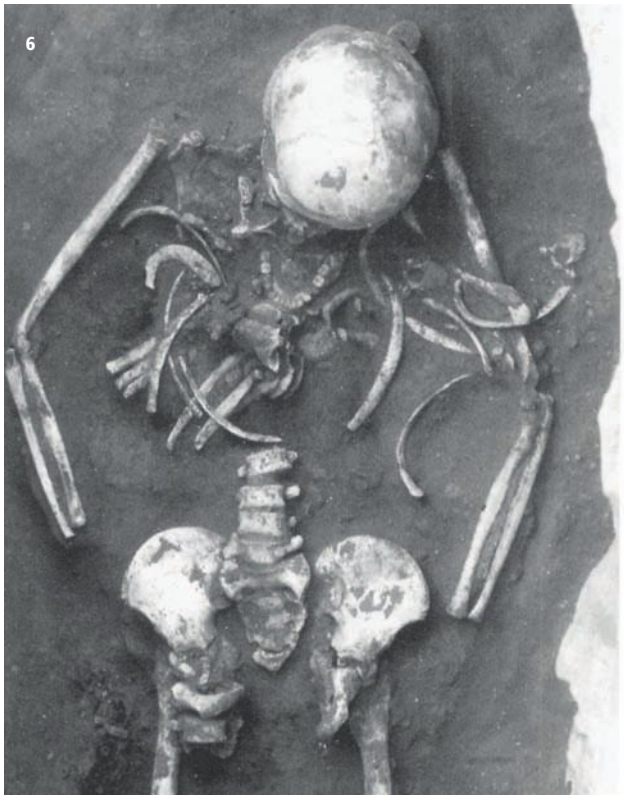
'What a disgrace it is when a woman wears a helmet, who rejects femininity and loves violence...'
Juvenal *Satires 6. 252f.*

Female gladiators (**8** and **9**) might share the stage with other acts such as an elephant walking on a tightrope – one of the highlights of games arranged by Nero in honour of his mother, Agrippina the Younger, whom he had recently murdered. Women gladiatoral fights were just one of many different kinds taking place in the arena to keep the baying crowds entertained. In the 100-day Games, staged by Titus in AD 80 at the inauguration of the Colosseum, they competed in a battle. There was also a fight between between four elephants – just a handful of the 9000 beasts slaughtered in one single day, and, says Dio Cassius in his *Roman History*, '*... women took part in seeing them off*'.

In *De Spectaculis*, published in the year of Titus' games, Martial describes women fighting in the arena, one dressed as Venus, another as a *venatrix*, an animal hunter who subdued a lion: '*Caesar, we now have witnessed such* [amazing] *things done through the courage of women*' he writes.

Statius (AD 45-96) describes women in *Silvae* as '*untrained in weaponry, recklessly daring to fight like men! You would think a band of Amazons was battling*'. In his *Roman History*, Dio Cassius tells us that Domitian (r AD 81-96) laid on '*wild beast hunts, gladiatorial shows at night by torchlight – not only duels between men but between women as well,*' and adds: '*on occasions he would pit dwarfs and women against each other*'.

Juvenal is scathing about female warriors, for in his *Satires* (6.252)



PHOTOGRAPH: JEANNINE DAVID-KIMBALL.

ANTIQUARIUM FORUM ROMANUM MUSEUM

of around the end of the 1st century AD, he writes: '*What a disgrace it is when a woman wears a helmet, who rejects femininity and loves violence… If you were to sell your wife's effects, what pride you will take in her belt and arm-pads and plumes, and her half-length left-leg shin-guard! Or… how pleased you will be when the girl you love sells her greaves!… Listen to her grunt when she practises thrusting from the trainer, expiring under the weight of the helmet.*'

The emperor Nero, on the other hand, dealt with annoying senators by threatening to have their wives thrown into the arena to do combat.

The British Museum has a 1st-2nd century AD marble relief commemorating the release from service of two female gladiators (8), with the 'stage names' Amazon and Achillia, found in Halicarnassus (modern Bodrum in Turkey). Armed with swords and shields, the women are advancing towards each other to attack; the *gladiatrix* on the right has lost her head – through damage, not decapitation. The Greek inscription tells us their names and uses the word *apeluthesan*, which tells us that the outcome of the fight was a draw.

They have the same equipment as male gladiators, but without helmets and are heavily armed with greaves, loin cloths and belts. Each carries a mid-sized rectangular shield and a dagger in her right hand, which has a *manica* (arm protection); the *galege* (armlets) of both women are at their backs on the floor. Their hair is cropped in the style of slaves and their breasts are bare.

The female gladiator in the arena with her breasts revealed would have certainly had an erotic impact on some male members of the audience, heightened by the arousing sight of a woman wielding a weapon – something a typical Roman woman very rarely did. Women trained in combat were usually foreign women, like Boudicca or the Amazons (2) on the edge of empire. In his *Ars Amaoria* (312), Ovid says that the games were the place to pick up a woman and that the sight of a female leg, rarely seen outside the home, was exciting. In that case the half-naked, weapon-wielding female gladiator would have been more exciting still. ■

6. The grave of a young female warrior, 4th-2nd century BC, Pokrovka, Russia. A dagger was found by her right femur and around her neck was a leather pouch holding a bronze arrowhead.

7. Frieze detail that shows the punishment of Tarpeia, *circa* 14 BC, from the Basilica Aemilia.

8. Marble relief from Halicarnassus (1st/2nd century AD) depicting two female gladiators, Amazon and Achillia.

9. Items from the grave of the so-called Great Dover Street Woman in London are thought to have belonged to a Roman gladiatrix.

• ***Women at War in the Classical World* by Paul Chrystal will be published by Pen & Sword in February 2017.**

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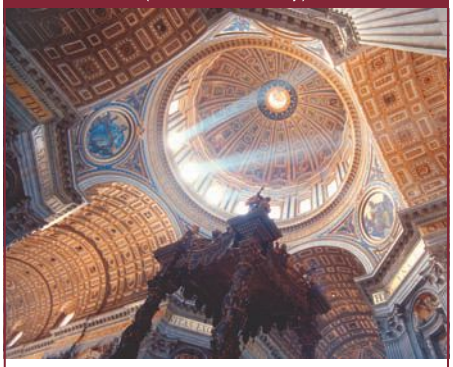

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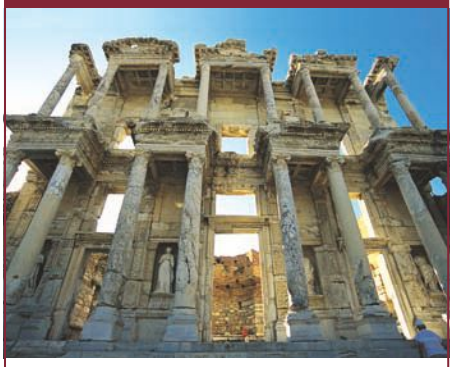

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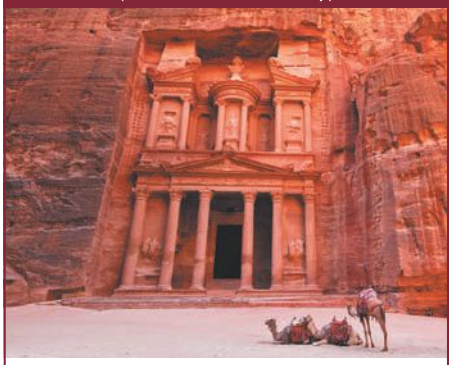

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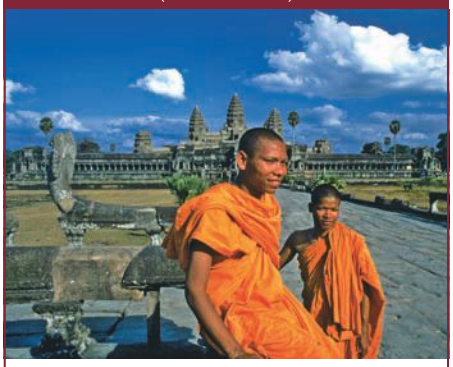

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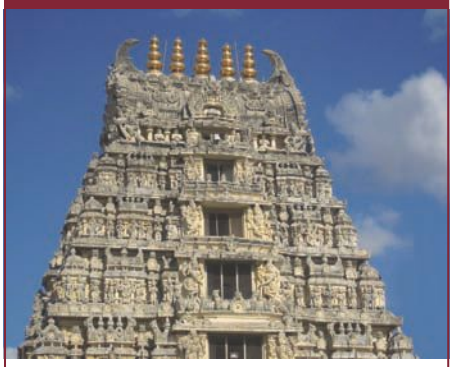

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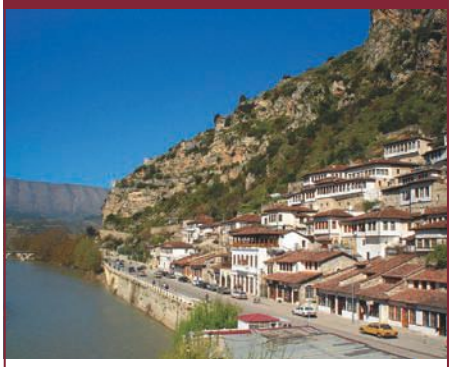

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War and peace

Historian and novelist Dr Adrian Goldsworthy tells **Diana Bentley** why he finds writing biographies of famous Romans, such as Julius Caesar and Emperor Augustus, enjoyable but creating fiction set during the Napoleonic Wars more liberating

Growing up near haunting Roman ruins in Wales and watching swords-and-sandals movies instilled a passion for the ancient world in the young Adrian Goldsworthy. Later, armed with his lifelong interest in the Romans and a doctorate from Oxford, he went on to write 10 books on aspects of Roman history and the astonishing characters who shaped it. His biographies of Julius Caesar, Augustus and Antony and Cleopatra, and his books on Roman warfare, the Punic Wars, the Battle of Cannae and the Roman Army, among other related subjects, have attracted wide acclaim.

Dr Goldsworthy worked as a history lecturer at King's College London and at the University of Notre Dame in London before becoming a full-time writer in 2005. As well as history books, he has created a series of

novels set during the Peninsular War, finding the characters of Napoleon and Wellington quite as fascinating as the leaders of Rome.

Now, in his latest book, he has made a study of the *Pax Romana* (Roman Peace) detailing the rise of the dominance of Rome and explaining how it maintained such a long period of relative calm in an empire forged by bloody conquests.

What was it that attracted you to the particular periods of history that you have written about?

My fascination with Rome dates back to when I was little and I watched Roman epics on television and read *Asterix* comics. I grew up near Caerleon in Wales where there are the remains of a Roman amphitheatre, the fortress of the Second Augustan Legion and some baths. So Roman history was all around me and it was also part of my history, which made it rather special – the Greeks just weren't here!

Roman history is full of wonderful stories. You can really get your teeth into it and get close to the sources and, through them, to the Romans themselves.

You have written about Rome's rise to power noting that it was not planned and that it suffered setbacks. How did Romans achieve their success?

Everyone in the ancient world tended to be aggressive – everyone fought wars – but the Romans were exceptional in that they fought to the death and never accepted defeat. Faced with Hannibal, other armies might well have given up. You have to be amazed at the lengths to which the Romans would go in order to win. In Masada, for example, they built a huge ramp out into the desert, which must have been a great effort, just to defeat a small group of people. The sheer stubbornness of the Romans was remarkable, plus they were prepared to adapt and learn from their mistakes.

They also looked for a permanent solution regarding those they defeated. The Romans had a readiness to embrace others. They absorbed conquered people into their society and turned them into themselves. In comparison, the Greeks and Carthaginians did not readily accept others. The Romans were unique in that they were willing to grant citizenship to those they conquered so that a freed slave could become a citizen, and so did many of their defeated enemies.

The process might have taken a generation or so but, over time, it made their citizen population grow to become vastly greater than that of any other state. Even some of Rome's emperors came from the provinces. The Romans also recruited the people they defeated into their army and used them to fight the next generation of wars. Their army often included a high proportion of soldiers from other territories.

Eventually, by the late 1st century AD, Rome had a professional army of around 350,000. No one had an army of that size again until modern times. Rome became so big it could not be beaten. The Romans were also more organised than anyone else. They built up the infrastructure – the barracks, the roads and the equipment – to support the army.

What exactly was the* Pax Romana *and how did it come about?

The *Pax Romana*, or Roman Peace, was a period of notable peace and stability in Western Europe, the Middle East and North Africa that was at its height in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. But it wasn't something that the Romans set out to create. They defeated other people, plundered their possessions and created an empire. Then, there was a growing sense of needing to keep and protect what they had – so the peace wasn't altruistic and, if Rome's territories thrived, they derived more taxes from them. In the 1st century BC Cicero talked about the need to protect trade routes, promote law and order and suppress bandits. The peace was achieved after Rome established its dominance in its overseas territories through war. It was a case of peace through, and after, victory.

But there was some sense of duty that developed towards the provinces too. This became the *Pax Augusta*, the peace of Augustus. It was part of his perceived role of being a good emperor that he would keep the peace and not interfere with people's daily lives and trade. He wanted people to believe that this was his goal. This was timely after the devastation of the civil wars. Augustus fought his way to power ruthlessly but one of his great boasts later was the peace that he created. He was portrayed largely in a toga instead of in a military uniform. It was spin, but there was truth in it, too. The peace wasn't perfect but it was pretty much achieved; it was tangible and observable. Others followed on from Augustus and the peace justified their rule.

How was the* Pax Romana *maintained and how did it end?

The *Pax Romana* was maintained through strength. Any rebellions were brutally crushed – but it is striking that there were not many uprisings. From the time of the Boudiccan rebellion in AD 61 there was no revolt against Roman rule in southern or lowland Britain until the end of Roman rule in AD 410. When the empire did end, no one really wanted to be a Briton or a Gaul, they still wanted to be Roman: Rome had more to offer. But from the 3rd century AD on, there were a string of civil wars and the empire never returned to the same sort of stability it had enjoyed in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. Slowly, the state and the army decayed. By the 4th century, the Roman empire had started to lose territory and you can see levels of prosperity and the population declining.

What was Rome's legacy?

They left us a great deal. It was through the Romans that we inherited so many of our ideas about Greek culture. They also shaped the Catholic church. Roman law influenced many legal systems still operating today. The Romans are still with us in many mundane, practical aspects of our lives.

You have written biographies of Julius Caesar and Augustus – how would you compare the two?

They're very different. Caesar was the man who was good at everything. He was an outstanding soldier, wrote wonderful prose and was a great administrator. He had a very dramatic life. But Caesar had far less time than Augustus to do all that he wanted to do. He spent much of his life at war in the provinces. Only in his last 18 months did he spend time in Rome embarking on many reforms. We forget how much we owe him – our calendar, for example.

Why did he fall? Brutus and Cassius are now viewed in an idealised way as men who tried to act as liberators. Caesar thought everyone had enough sense to realise that he was going to be a good leader for the state. After him, there were 14 years of civil war and Rome could not go back to being a republic.

Augustus is harder to read. He led most of the known world for 40 years and died of old age in his own bed. He was considered to be cold and calculating but the truth may have been very different. You get some sense of the man from what he is supposed to have said ['*If I have played my part well, clap your hands, and dismiss me with applause from the stage.*'] on his deathbed when he asked if he had played his part well: you have to ask, was he acting a role? There is the story that he sometimes used to recite the alphabet before he spoke to avoid giving way to his anger. The circumstances of his marriage to Livia are also revealing: he ordered her to divorce her husband when she was pregnant and when he married her several days after Drusus was born, he made her husband take part in the ceremony. This is more like Nero!

When Augustus was young he was ruthless. This is a different Augustus to the one we see later. He was the man who seized power and used it well enough to put an end to chaos and to deliver peace. We can forget, too, how hard Augustus worked. He travelled constantly to see how the provinces were functioning and undertook much dull work. In old age he was still receiving petitioners.

Caesar did not have the time to create a new regime in whatever form he wanted it to be. Augustus had more time and learned from his mistakes. It is odd to see how he is

Part of a frieze depicting the Imperial family on the *Ara Pacis,* a vast marble altar consecrated in Rome in 9 BC to celebrate the peace Augustus had established in the empire. © Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali di Roma.

viewed now. The word 'Caesar' would not have had the same impact without him.

Who are your favourite and least favourite characters from Roman history and why?
I'm certainly fond of Julius Caesar and Augustus. I've spent a lot of time with them, having written biographies of both. Good history is about people's lives and they are both exceptional.

When I wrote about Mark Antony, though, he went down in my estimation. He comes across as a spoiled aristocrat who believed he deserved to be in charge. He boasted about his military prowess when, in fact, he wasn't a very good soldier. His story is rather depressing. He got where he did largely by having the right name and by being in the right place at the right time.

In contrast, Cleopatra is a favourite of mine. Caesar was more of her intellectual equal than Mark Antony. In some ways she was in a lonely position – she was actually a loyal ally to Rome but ended up on the wrong side in a civil war.

I think Vespasian is a very compelling character too. His last words '*Dear me... I think I am becoming a god*,' make him sound a rather likeable character. He was a good solider and commanded the Second Augustan Legion when it invaded Britain in AD 43. He was thought to be the only man whose character improved *after* he became emperor. He restored stability after more than a year of chaos and civil war following Nero's death. I may write about him one day. The historian Josephus is a great source of information from about this time and we get some clear glimpses of Vespasian through him. We can also link the literary sources of Vespasian's life with archaeological evidence, which is rare.

You also write novels – how is different is that from writing history books?
I write the novels to have a refreshing break from writing non-fiction. There is a great sense of freedom in being able to create a story and characters, and write dialogue.

Your novels are set in the time of the Napoleonic Wars. Why did you choose that period?
Like Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar, Napoleon was a great military commander and you only have to look at the art and institutions of his era to see that they were inspired by the Roman world. In many statues, Napoleon is portrayed as wearing a laurel wreath, and he chose the symbol of the eagle to give to his soldiers as a standard. To honour the Grande Armée, he built the Arc de Triomphe, which is a very large Roman arch, and the Column of the Grande Armée, a version of Trajan's column, in Boulogne-sur-Mer. So, after Roman times, this era is a great favourite of mine.

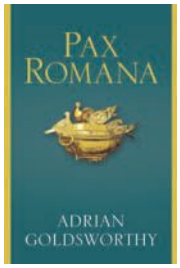
Also many diaries and memoirs have survived from Napoleonic times, which is a big advantage. This is all the material you'd love to have from the Classical world but don't have. There are great stories and bizarre characters that you just couldn't invent.

Are you following in the footsteps of the novelist Bernard Cornwell?
His Sharpe novels really set the trend for this sort of historical fiction. The first book, *Sharpe's Eagle*, came out when I was still at school. I read it then devoured all of the rest and developed a real fascination for the history of that period, and for Napoleon and Wellington. His novels really bring that time to life and they are well researched. Later, I wanted to write novels about the period myself, so I could explore the world of the redcoats more widely. So my involvement in those times has come full circle.

Patrick O'Brian's Jack Aubrey books [naval adventures set during the Napoleonic period] are great favourites too. Like my non-fiction, I tend to write the sort of novel that I would like to read.

You have more freedom when you're writing fiction, and I think the experience also helps you become a better writer of non-fiction. You tend to think more of the story you are writing. How do you tell your readers something without just throwing facts at them? I very much enjoy writing fiction.

My next novel, the first set in ancient Rome, is coming out next year – it is the first in a series of three. It's set in the reign of Trajan and the story surrounds the Vindolanda tablets. There is invention, of course, but everything that happens could have happened. ■



• *Pax Romana: War, Peace and Conquest in the Roman World* **by Adrian Goldsworthy is published in hardback by Weidenfeld and Nicolson at £25. It is also available as an ebook at £12.99.**

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Media Ref: MINV116

Paddy power

Dominic Green leads a tour travelling in the footsteps of the accomplished writer, scholar and soldier Patrick Leigh Fermor around Southern Greece

The abduction in April 1944 by British SOE agents and Cretan partisans of the German commander in Crete, Heinrich von Kriepe, was one of the most daring feats of the Second World War. It also produced a moment in which Classical erudition reminded two combatants of their common heritage amid a conflict that was destroying civilisation.

As the kidnap party paused on the slopes of Mount Ida its leader, Major Patrick Leigh Fermor (1915-2011), heard Kriepe mumble: '*Vides ut alta stet nive candidum Soracte*.' Leigh Fermor recognised the opening line of Horace's ode *Ad Thaliarchum* – '*See how Soracte stands white with snow on high*.' Having translated the ode as a schoolboy, he picked up on it at once and completed the verse. At that moment he and his enemy realised that they had, in Leigh Fermor's words, '*drunk at the same fountains*' in their youth and… '*for five minutes the war had evaporated without trace*'. While he was at the King's School, Canterbury, his housemaster described Leigh Fermor as '*a dangerous mixture of sophistication and recklessness*' and this proved to be prophetic.

The Mount Ida episode has become the most celebrated in the Leigh Fermor legend. On his death in 2011, his obituary in the *Daily Telegraph* cited him not just as the author of '*some of the finest works*

1. Patrick Leigh Fermor in Ithaca, in his early 30s, just after the Second World War. © Benaki Museum, Athens.

in the canon of English travel writing', but also '*one of the few genuine Renaissance figures produced by Britain in the 20th century, a man both of action and learning, a modern Philip Sidney or Lord Byron*'.

The Patrick Leigh Fermor Society, founded in 2014, is dedicated to preserving Leigh Fermor's memory. In June, I had the pleasure of leading a dozen intrepid travellers on the Society's inaugural tour, an unforgettable and often moving journey, *In Paddy's Footsteps*. As we traced the paths of Leigh Fermor's life the paradoxical nature of his Philhellenism met us at every turn.

In 1810, when Byron swam the Hellespont in emulation of the Greek mythological hero Leander, he was 32 years old; in 1984, when Leigh Fermor swam from Europe to Asia he was 69. After a strong start, he found himself struggling against a fast current. His reflections as he swam encapsulate the historical double vision of the Philhellene who views the swirling waters of the ancient past from the promontory of English Romanticism.

'*So here I was, floundering across the wake of the Argo, a mile north of Xerxes' and Alexander's bridges, only a few leagues from Troy and about a mile south of the point where Leander, Lord Byron and Mr Ekenhead* [his fellow-swimmer] *swam across; but too concerned with the current to think of them in more than fitful snatches*.'

Leander drowned after one crossing too many to visit his lover Hero, smashed on the rocks after her torch to light his way blew out. Byron made the crossing in one hour and 10 minutes; Ekenhead, a young lieutenant in the Royal Marines, was five minutes faster; Leigh Fermor took a little less than three hours. Staggering ashore, he claimed to have '*beaten all records for slowness and length of immersion*' and to have swum like a '*Victorian clergyman*'.

In the water, he had been thinking like a Victorian too, mixing the myths of the Classical curriculum with Byron's literary legend, whose backdrop had been the Greek War of Independence and the emergence of a modern nation state. Like Byron, Leigh Fermor recognised what he called the 'Helleno-Romaic Dilemma', a tension between two aspects of Greek identity.

The 'Hellene' is the pagan glory of Classical Greece, symbolised by the Parthenon. The 'Romios', the often prosaic and humiliating history of Byzantine and Ottoman-era Greece, symbolised by Hagia Sophia, before and after its conversion from a church into a mosque.

In *Roumeli: Travels in Northern Greece* (1966) Leigh Fermor wrote: '*All Greeks are an amalgam, in varying degrees, of both; they contradict and complete each other*.' To demonstrate their compatibility, he listed the attributes of the two identities in parallel columns. He also allowed that, while *Romiosyne*, the 'Romaic-hood' of the 'Roman' Greeks, has '*the pungency of the familiar and the immediate*', the abstract image of Hellenism has '*the glamour of an idea*'. As the imposition of the 'pure' spoken idiom of *Katharévousa* over the variants of *dimotiki* shows, modern Greek governments prefer the ideal to the familiar.

Robert Byron (1905-1941), the pioneering travel writer whose rucksack and ironic tone Leigh Fermor borrowed for his 'Great

2. Major Patrick Leigh Fermor in the Parachute Regiment in 1945. © Benaki Museum, Athens.

3. A view of the Hellespont, which separates Europe from Asia, taken from the Anatolian shore above Canakkale. Aged 32, Lord Byron swam it in emulation of the Greek mythological hero Leander, and Paddy swam across it in 1984, when he was 69 years old.

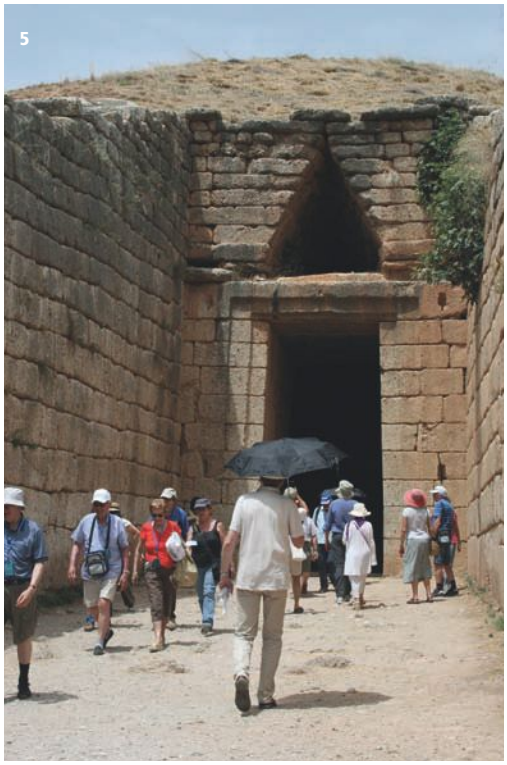
Walk' across pre-war Europe, came down on the side of *Romiosyne*, and idealised the familiar: Byzantium, not Periclean Athens, was the glory of Greece. But in Leigh Fermor's calibration, the balance of Hellenes and Romios possesses the '*curious fabricated beauty*' that he detected in the poems of Cavafy. Periclean rigour sustains Romaic flair, like '*cunningly placed bits of whalebone in the more sinuous demotic*'.

Leigh Fermor, of course, was not a Greek politician but an English writer. Distance, national and aesthetic, allowed a reconciliation of Hellenic and Romaic elements, just as it allowed him to maintain diplomatic neutrality on the question of the Elgin Marbles. His demotic was English, after all. As a teenager, he had decorated his Greek grammar with '*scrawled and inky processions of centaurs, always bearded like* Navy Cut *bluejackets and often wearing bowler hats and smoking cherry-wood pipes*'.

We encounter the limits of aesthetic neutrality on the first day of the tour. The new Acropolis Museum raises the Philhellene's dilemma, the integrity of the Parthenon Marbles. Viewed from above, the museum, which opened in 2009, is grounded on the south-eastern slope of the Acropolis with the grace of a beached ocean liner. Once inside, however, the visitor enters a space, carefully constructed to replicate the experience of ascending the nearby site.

4. In Athens, looking down southwards from the Acropolis, with the Theatre of Dionysus in the foreground, and the new Acropolis Museum behind it.

5. Members of the Patrick Leigh Fermor Society approach the entrance to a *tholos* (beehive-shaped) tomb at Mycenae, which was excavated by Heinrich Schliemann in 1876.



By protecting the Marbles against earthquakes and atmospheric pollution, the museum has undone what used to be the best case for keeping the Elgin Marbles in London. If they are not presented, as their Roman admirers would have said, in situ, they are in the next best place. The museum's light-filled, spacious top floor lays out the entire sequence, some of it at eye level. As we circle the Marbles, the Parthenon is a continual presence, sometimes ahead of us, sometimes over our shoulders. With the first hint of dusk, the stones of the Parthenon become blurred and suffused with a pinkish glow.

Over dinner, we soon come to the conclusion that the only good reason for keeping Elgin's haul in London is that returning it to Athens might precipitate a host of other similar demands and cause the collapse of the world's major museum collections. Not for the first time, we discover that while we can argue with Greeks, we cannot argue with Greece.

We leave Athens the next morning to travel across the Peloponnese. At Corinthia, we pause for coffee at Pindar's '*bridge of the untiring sea*', then press on backwards into the past, from Corinth to Mycenae, two

sites that are half an hour and two millennia apart. Corinth is open to the sea, its baths and shopping colonnades welcoming the traffic and trade of the Roman world. Mycenae perches on its inland fastness, the rough stones of its fortifications almost seamless with those of their natural foundations. The palace is really a fort, aggressively dominating the plain of Argos, and defensive against the distant sea.

We lunch at the legendary Belle Helene in Mycenae, where our host, the splendidly named Agamemnon, informs us that he is the great-great grandson of the man who opened the business by providing bed and breakfast for Heinrich Schliemann and his aides as they dug at Mycenae in 1876. Then on we go to Epidauros, where we waddle up the steeply banked sides of the amphitheatre marvelling at its superb acoustics that can carry a whisper up to the gods and beyond.

6. A ruined tower in the Byzantine upper city of Mystras.

7. A fading fresco depicting St Paul in the church of Agios Nikolaos in Mystras.

8. The view from the upper city of Mystras looking out across the plain towards Sparta.

[Patrick Leigh Fermor was] 'one of the few genuine Renaissance figures produced by Britain in the 20th century, a man both of action and learning, a modern Philip Sidney or Lord Byron'

After these Hellenistic excursions, we move on to a Romiosyne phase. Based at Nafplion, a town whose prettiness belies the exploitative nature of Venetian rule in Greece, we traverse the farm country of the Argolid, and take a taxi boat to Hydra. Our objective is to visit the ruined mansion of Nikos Hadjikyriakos-Ghika, the Cubist painter who, like Leigh Fermor, reconciled ancient and medieval Greece in a Modernist style.

Leigh Fermor called Ghika's house, a '*tiered wonder*' high up at the back of the town with magnificent views of Spetses and the Gulf of Argos, the '*perfect prose actory*' – for it was here that he wrote the early drafts of his 1958 travel book *Mani: Travels in the Southern Peloponnese*. In 1939 Henry Miller, who was himself a factory that produced imperfect, but evocative, prose, drafted *The Colossus of Maroussi* here too.

According to local legend, it was destroyed by arson after Ghika's housekeeper objected to the latest permutation of his employer's love life. The arches of Ghika's north-facing studio, against which Joan Leigh Fermor photographed her husband in the 1950s, survived the fire and are still standing.

From Nafplion, we travel to Mystras, the ruined city that Leigh Fermor took to symbolise the

9

10

[Patrick Leigh Fermor's] housemaster described him as '*a dangerous mixture of sophistication and recklessness*' and this proved to be prophetic...

ultimate unity of Hellenism and *Romiosyne*. Tellingly, Mystras was also the last stand of a lost cause, and more memorable in letters than politics. The Council of Florence of 1439 failed to achieve the reconciliation of Eastern and Western Christianity, or to slow the Turkish advance on Constantinople. But the Neoplatonic philosopher George Gemistos Plethon and his associates, who travelled to Florence with the Byzantine diplomats, passed Plato's work (in the original Greek) to the humanists of the Medici court, so changing the course of European thought

The stones of Mystras, tumbling down the mountain beneath the Frankish fortress, are a Byzantine ghost-town. Inside the cool and broken churches of the upper town, phantom apostles fade on skims of crumbling plaster. Outside, the paths trace the streets of a city that no longer exists. In the lower town, we examine the double-headed eagle on the floor of the church of St Demetrios, marking the spot where Constantine XI Palaiologos, the last emperor of Byzantium, was crowned in 1451.

Weaving up and over the dizzy bends of the Langada Pass, we skirt Mount Taygetus, descend to Kalamata, and cut along the coast to Kardamyli which Homer lists as one of the seven cities that Agamemnon offers to Achilles as an inducement to rejoin the fighting

9. A view of Kardamyli on the Mani Peninsula – Paddy Leigh Fermor's house can be seen at the bottom right.

10. Fortified houses in Areopoli, the capital city of the Mani, and a Bofors anti-aircraft gun dating from the German occupation during the Second World War.

11. A closer view of Paddy's house surrounded by olive groves and cypresses. © Benaki Museum.

12. A Classical corner stone, topped by Byzantine brickwork, rests on an even older boulder at the church of Agios Nikolaos, at Exochori near Kardamyli.

13. The church of Agios Nikolaos where Paddy scattered the ashes of his fellow travel writer, Bruce Chatwin.

All photographs © Dominic Green unless otherwise marked.

during the Trojan War. The tombs of the Dioscouri, Castor and Pollux, are located in the hills behind the medieval old town. Leigh Fermor and his wife built a house on an isolated headland overlooking a small cove, here on the Mani, in the late Sixties. According to the terms of Leigh Fermor's bequest, the Benaki Museum is bound to open the house to the public as a writers' retreat – at some time in the future and, in July, it received a promise of funds from the Stavros Niarchos Foundation to enable it to do so.

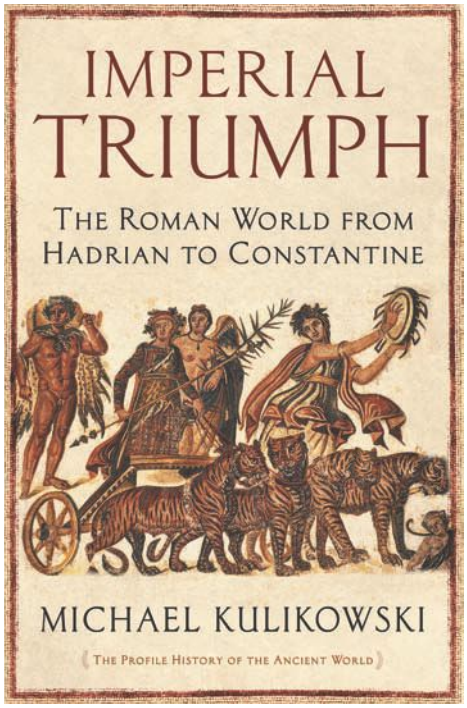
Further south, the fortified towers of Areopoli ('the city of Ares') rise like cacti, testifying to the harsh terrain and brutal politics of the long centuries of Romiosyne.

In *Mani*, Leigh Fermor reconciles the ancient and the modern by whimsically appointing a fisherman named Strati Mourtzinos as the heir to Constantine's defunct crown. The same tendency to '*retrogressive hankerings*' colours his account of hiding in caves with Cretan partisans. '*Some were too shallow to keep out the snow, others could house a Cyclops and his flocks*.'

When he describes these images as romantic, he does not dismiss them. Rather, he acknowledges the plural inspiration of Philhellenism, and the paradoxical contentions of Greek history: pagan and Christian, ancient and modern. And we actually see the melding of raw materials, just as the *spolia* of ancient Sparta become the walls of Mystras.

One afternoon, we walk through the hill villages behind Kardamyli to the church of Agios Nikolaos, where Leigh Fermor scattered his fellow travel writer Bruce Chatwin's ashes. The location is impossibly beautiful: amid olive groves, the placid church rises on the crest of a hill like the prow of a ship. The upper courses of the church's walls are typically Byzantine, with patterns of tile inserted among small rough stones but the smooth rectangular blocks in the church's lower courses tend to confirm Chatwin's claim that Agios Nikolaos was erected on the site of an ancient temple. A fitting marriage of the Hellenic and the Romaic in which, as in Leigh Fermor's prose, art and life imitate each other. ■

• For further information on the Patrick Leigh Fermor Society visit www.patrickleighfermorsociety.org (for details of the next tour email: info@patrickleighfermorsociety.org).



Imperial Triumph: The Roman World from Hadrian to Constantine

Michael Kulikowski

Profile Books

340pp, 14 maps and 34 colour illustrations

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Historians have proposed dozens of reasons for the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, but fewer for its rise and survival. In *Imperial Triumph,* Michael Kulikowski depicts the period between the death of Trajan in AD 117 at Cilicia in Asia Minor as he returned from chastising the Parthians, and the death of Constantine the Great's son Constantinius II in AD 361 while campaigning in Cilicia against his rebellious cousin Julian the Apostate. The triumph of Kulikowski's title is the empire's survival, despite the best efforts of its enemies and its own elites.

Starting at the top, the deliberately ambivalent imagery with which Augustus supplanted the republic and established a dynasty endowed an autocratic empire with a paradoxical flexibility. Augustus claimed to restore the republic, and his Julio-Claudian heirs did little to clarify how the interaction of army, senate and people made a man into an emperor. The practical aspect of this mystery was revealed in AD 68, when the Julio-Claudian male line expired and Vespasian, supported by the provincial legions of the East, established a new dynasty by force. As Tacitus noted in his *Annals*, the '*secret of empire*' was that any senatorial family could claim the purple on the battlefield. Hereditary succession was a norm, but not a legal obligation.

To rule, the emperor needed the support of the army, the compliance of the people and the oligarchy who formed the empire's upper crust. In this period, the *ordo senatorius*, the oligarchy of rich and high-born senators, were challenged by the merely rich, the *ordo equester*, whose name referred to those early Romans rich enough to serve in the cavalry. The displacement of the senators by the equestrians did not disrupt the empire's workings. The emperor, the senators and the equestrians were in a '*mutually reinforcing relationship*': the emperor cultivated the support of individual autocrats, and they enriched themselves in the provincial administration.

Ruled by an '*international governing elite*', the masses in the provinces accepted the bread, circuses, comfort and security familiar from Gibbon's account of the Antonines. Although the provinces came to dominate the centre, life in the provinces was not greatly affected by the imperial bloodbaths of the 3rd century. While the emperorship fell into savage dysfunction, the empire remained broadly stable. Kulikowski argues that the '*crisis of the 3rd century*' was limited to the most rarified strata of the system, and that for every province suffering from revolt or civil war, there was a Britain or Spain enjoying decades of peace.

To Kulikowski, the reason for the transformation of the Roman Empire lies not in the administration, the oligarchy, the army or the nebulous nature of the emperorship, nor even in the debasement of the coinage and, as Gibbon alleged, the debasements of luxury and religion. Rome was vulnerable to geography and the massive '*disturbances in the steppe*' that occurred far over the horizon in the 3rd century: invasions by the new Sasanian dynasty in Persia and Mesopotamia, tribal raids across the frontiers of the Rhine and Danube provinces, and, at the other end of Asia, the defeat in China of the Xiongnu by the Han dynasty. This set off a human domino effect, which led over four centuries to the appearance of the Xiongnu and their nomadic heirs at the gates of Rome as 'the Huns'.

Kulikowski's account of the '*hinge*' of Roman history ends with Constantine's '*revolutionary*' refashioning of Rome as a Greek Christian empire. Like the Huns, the author promises to return soon, and renew our acquaintance with the Rome of Late Antiquity, a Eurasian civilisation in '*an age of archaic globalisation*'.

Dominic Green

The Treasures of Alexander the Great: How One Man's Wealth Shaped the World

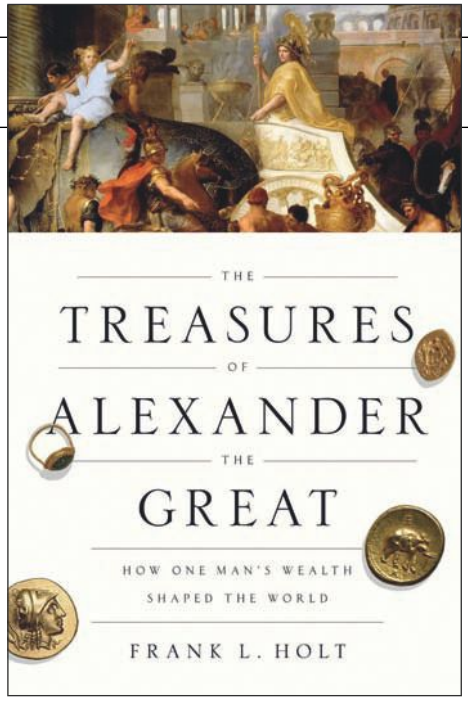
Frank L Holt

Oxford University Press

320pp, 19 black and white illustrations, 3 maps and graphs

Hardback, £19.99

As Frank L Holt, Professor of History at the University of Houston, notes at the start of



The Treasures of Alexander the Great, the spoils of war belong to the victor, and few men seized more than the young Macedonian king during his epic conquests. Many books about Alexander focus on his military prowess and extraordinary character but few have examined the wealth that he accumulated when creating a kingdom that spanned two million miles and three continents. This is Holt's quest and he addresses it with erudition and a critical eye.

'*War transfers wealth by violence*,' he reminds us, and the seizure of property and people was considered a legitimate objective of war in Alexander's time. Gold, silver, land and livestock were included in the spoils of war and also a large number of people, but how much wealth did Alexander actually acquire and what became of it?

Holt addresses these questions systematically, returning to ancient sources, which is a difficult task since they are often vague and inconsistent. Even trying to determine what Alexander inherited from his father Philip II of Macedon is tricky. But the young man soon boosted his coffers with strikes on Thrace, Illyria and Thebes.

But this book is not simply a reckoning of the financial accounts of Alexander. Holt's examination of the turmoil and suffering brought about by these military campaigns is arresting. If the defeated did not lose their lives, they forfeited their freedom and property. In Thrace and Thebes many thousands of warriors were slain, while the women and children were taken captive, along with their chattels. After Alexander crossed the Hellespont in 334 BC, the cities of Asia Minor soon succumbed to the invading army. Sometimes locals either seized or destroyed property to prevent Alexander benefiting from it.

Following the Battle of Issus, the Persian enemy's camp was looted and Alexander's general Parmenion was permitted to plunder Damascus where the main Persian treasure was stored. In a letter to Alexander, Parmenion details the riches he found there:

great hoards of silver and coinage, but also 329 of the king's musically trained concubines, 46 male wreath-weavers, cooks, perfumers and others. The taking of Babylon and Susa followed and, finally, Persepolis fell. There, Diodorus reports that the Macedonian soldiers indulged in '*frenzied looting... Inasmuch as Persepolis surpassed all other cities in wealth, so too it exceeded all in its misfortune*,' he says. For those without gold and silver, other things were demanded. The hill tribes of the Uxians had to pay annual tributes of horses and cattle – their form of wealth. The accounts of the human cost during and after the seizure of territory in Bactria, Sogdiana and the Punjab are chilling.

Holt chronicles how Alexander spent his wealth in the construction of temples, cities, bridges and ships, in holding elaborate funerals and erecting memorials, in placating his commanders and currying favour with his troops. There was huge outlay on the army. Gifts were also sent home to his family and made to many others. Alexander's soldiers succumbed to the novelty of being rich, and the booty further fuelled their greed although, twice, they were forced to burn their loot as there was too much for them to carry.

Then there was the issue of management. When Alexander returned from India he found that many satraps he left behind had abused their positions. Alexander's friend, Harpalus, left in Babylon to manage the vast fortune reaped in Persia, had developed a taste for extravagant living and imported prostitutes from Greece. He retreated to Athens and was murdered later in Crete.

The extent to which Alexander monetarised and circulated the gold and silver taken from Susa and Persepolis is also analysed. Holt admits this is a challenging exercise. Despite the large number of coins minted by Alexander and his successors, he questions how much of the 'useless' accumulated riches of Persia were put into wide circulation.

Holt argues that there is little evidence that Alexander thought deeply about the '*financial apparatus*' of his empire and that he was remote from its administration centres. He concludes that Alexander waged war to acquire the means to wage more war but concedes that, had he lived longer, he may have dealt with his acquired wealth in a more mature and systematic way.

Viewing his career from a different perspective, Professor Holt's book is a very welcome addition to our store of literature on Alexander. Thoughtful and thought-provoking, it is a sobering, entertaining account of Alexander's odyssey, the astonishing material gains he made from his campaigns and the considerable human cost they entailed.

Diana Bentley

Greek Homosexuality

Kenneth Dover, with forewords by Stephen Halliwell, Mark Masterson and James Robson

Bloomsbury

336pp, 105 black and white illustrations

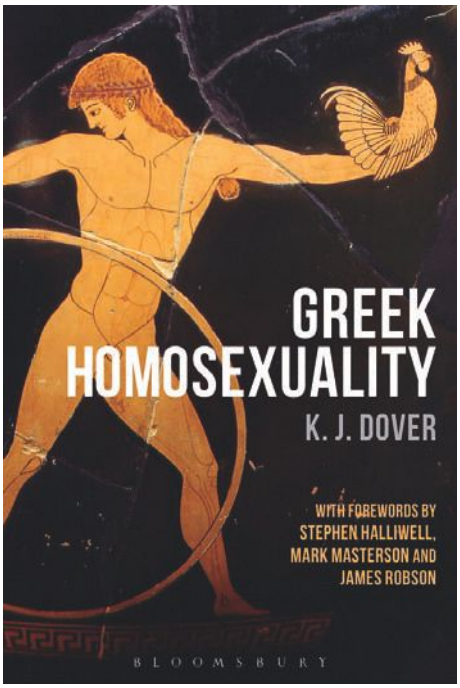
Paperback, £24.99

Published in 1978, *Greek Homosexuality* is still a landmark work. The first scholarly book to address the subject, it has since been translated into a dozen languages and has had a profound influence on the study of the history of sexuality ever since. This is a re-publication of the second edition of 1989, which brings together Kenneth Dover's classic text and two new forewords: one by Stephen Halliwell on Dover and his legacy; the other by Mark Masterson and James Robson on the work's impact.

Surveying Greek art and literature from the 8th to the 2nd centuries BC, *Greek Homosexuality* is a broad yet detailed study, full of close readings. Much of the discussion is dominated by Aeschines' speech *Against Timarchus*, in which, in 346 BC, the Athenian politician Timarchus was prosecuted and stripped of his rights as a citizen for having prostituted himself in his youth to another man.

Other important sources are Plato's *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*, Aristophanes' comedies, homosexual poetry of the later archaic and early Classical periods and the Hellenistic period, and a multitude of vase paintings, particularly those from the late 6th and early 5th centuries BC.

One of the key themes Dover explores is the active senior lover (*erates*) and passive junior beloved (*eromenos*) model of Athenian homosexual relationships. Concepts of male and female beauty also come under the microscope, illustrated by vase paintings, well captioned so as to guide our observations, demonstrating the similarities between the physiques of the desirable men and women, especially the hips. It seems that thick thighs were particularly attractive on a man. As we learn, Sophocles writes of Zeus '*set aflame*' by Ganymede's thighs, while Aeschylus writes that '*Achilles, bereaved, recalls the thighs of Patroklos*'. The topic of homosexuality and women also makes an appearance, albeit a brief one owing to the paucity of ancient sources on gay women; and also on the female view of male homosexuality.



Bringing this subject up to date we learn in Masterson and Robson's new foreword that, due to the obscenity laws of the 1970s, none of the photographs used in the book could be sent by post for fear of prosecution. We have moved on a little since then and this reprint of *Greek Homosexuality* brings a landmark work to a new readership of Classicists and scholars, and cements its place as the essential volume in the field.

Lucia Marchini

In Bed with the Ancient Greeks

Paul Chrystal

Amberley

288pp, 30 colour illustrations

Hardback, £20

As part of Amberley's *In Bed with…* series exploring sex and related erotic issues through time, Paul Chrystal (also author of *In Bed with the Romans*) presents us with a racy account of the intimate lives of the Greeks – a culture usually deemed less bawdy than that of the Romans, but one that produced enduring philosophical discussions on love and sex, such as Plato's *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*.

Covering gender, sex, marriage, medicine, pederasty, prostitution, homoeroticism, religion, mythology, literature, art and more, the book's chapters are fairly comprehensive in scope. A couple of them offer insight into sex in particular Greek societies. Firstly, the Minoan civilisation is characterised as one in which women were relatively free and active members of society; they could be officials, administrators, priestesses, entrepreneurs and artisans and they could take part in athletics. It has been argued that Minoan women did not have to take the main responsibility for raising the children, that their society was matrilineal and not strongly patriarchal.

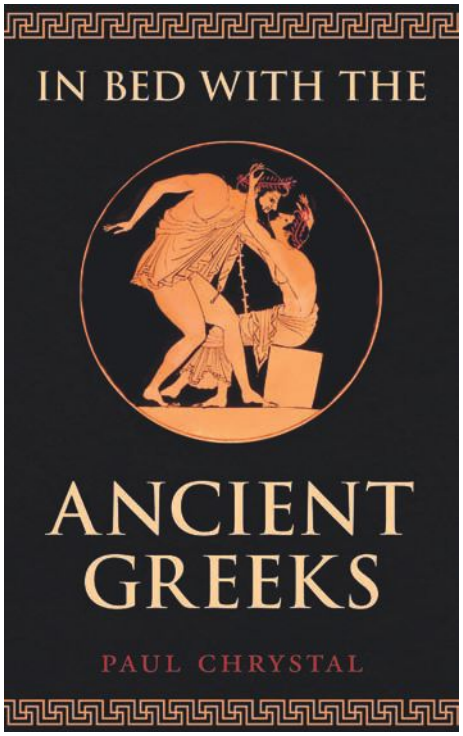
Later on in the book, Chrystal offers a comparison of sexuality in Sparta and Macedon, concluding that these tribes both had some similarities with the Minoans in that women were less oppressed. Aristotle wrote that a general absence of homosexuality in Sparta had meant that women were in control, which was apparently the root of all the problems of the *polis*. In Macedon, where the upper echelons were polygamous, women of the

elite could exercise considerable power, as useful instruments in the forging of alliances and strengthening of dynasties and, particularly in the cases of Cynane (daughter of Philip II) and her daughter Eurydice II, as military figures.

As well as historical snapshots of societies, Chrystal presents a concise overview of sex in mythology, including the unsavoury topics of rape, incest and bestiality. Handily broken down according to key figures, this is a gossipy gander at who slept with whom on Mt Olympus – Zeus and Aphrodite feature more than most. The Amazons, Hyacinth and Ixion are among other mythological figures who make an appearance.

There are also fascinating but unsettling discussions of both female and male sexual medicines. Hippocrates, for example, wrote '*Of the so-called women's diseases, the womb is the cause of them all*' – leading to many centuries of diagnoses of hysteria (*hystera* means womb). Chrystal paints a graphic and quite disturbing picture of surgical abortion. Several Hippocratic texts mention the *embruosphaktes* (which Chystal rather grimly translates as '*embryo-slayer*'). On the male side, circumcision, abhorred by the Greeks, is a key topic covered. Herodotus is the earliest Greek voice on the subject and writes regretfully of the Egyptians who practise circumcision '*they value cleanliness more than comeliness*'.

An interesting blend of science, society, philosophy and mythology, this book comes with an outline of Greek sexual vocabulary, making it a useful overview of all things intimate in ancient Greece that is easily accessible and easy to read.
Lucia Marchini



Ovid: A Poet on the Margins
Laurel Fulkerson
Bloomsbury
120pp, 8 black and white illustrations
Paperback, £14.99

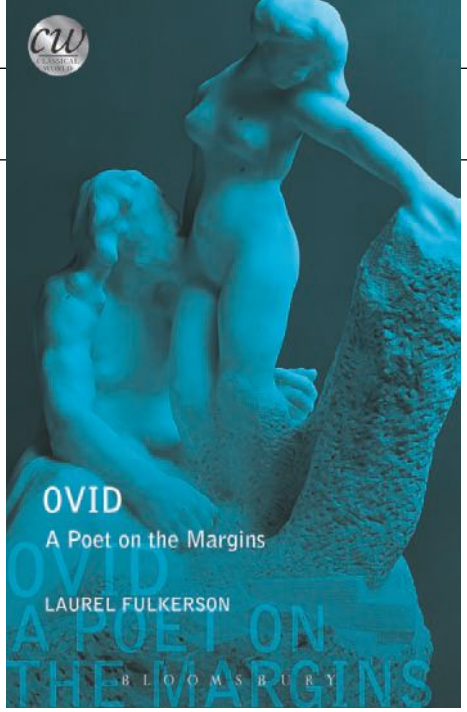
Described by Quintilian as '*too much a lover of his own cleverness*', Ovid's wit, innovation and engaging style have made him perhaps the most popular of all Roman authors. From his lively love poetry to his grand and at times tongue-in-cheek retelling of mythology, Ovid has long been a fixture of school and university curricula. In this slim volume, which is part of the Bloomsbury 'Classical World' series intended both for students and teachers, Laurel Fulkerson, Associate Professor of Classics at Florida State University, introduces the poet, his time and his poetry, and reminds us why Ovid matters. He is, as she puts it, '*good to think with*'.

As the book's subtitle suggests, a central theme is marginality. Famously, Ovid was exiled by Augustus in 8 AD for what he referred to as his *carmen et error* ('poem and mistake'). The *carmen* is normally thought to be his *Ars Amatoria* (*The Art of Love*), while the error is more mysterious, though rumoured to be a fling with Augustus' daughter Julia. In exile at Tomis (now Constanta in Romania), Ovid lived on the margins. But Fulkerson shows that this theme manifests itself in a variety of ways throughout the poet's work, such as his portrayal of refugees.

One of the most interesting discussions in the book is on art and speech or other forms of communication, and punishment. Analysing the examples of Philomela, Lara, Io, Echo, Orpheus, Marsyas and the Pierides among others, the author notes that Ovid '*seems especially concerned with occasions where speech proves dangerous for the speaker. Quite a number of characters are literally shut up because they either have said, or might say, something others want kept silent*'. Given Ovid's own fate, this observation is made all the more poignant.

Elsewhere, we learn about life in Augustan Rome, about education, epic and elegiac metres, experimentation, repetition, wordplay and more. As well as looking at Ovid's best-known poems (*Amores, Ars Amatoria* and *Metamorphoses*), which the intended readership will be more likely to be studying, the book refers to his other texts (with the *Fasti* and the *Heroides* being particularly well discussed), giving a fuller and better contextualised impression of his entire body of work.

Effortlessly breezing through an astonishing number of themes, Fulkerson creates an exciting and well-rounded introduction to Ovid, his work and his world, and one that this reviewer would have been more than happy to have read in her schooldays. Not



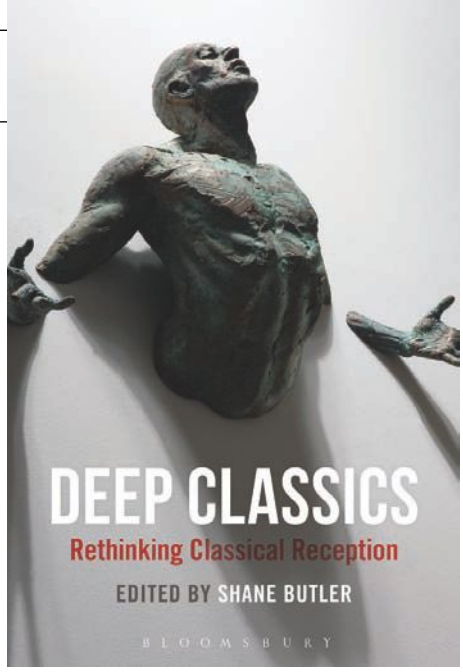
just for students, though, this book is a worthy read for anyone approaching the poet for the first time. No knowledge of Latin is required as quotations are translated (with the occasional Latin word marked when relevant) and there is a decent glossary of names and Latin terms. With a heady blend of history, politics, personality, poetry and biography, this concise book will encourage readers to dip into Ovid's work.
Lucia Marchini

Deep Classics: Rethinking Classical Reception
Edited by Shane Butler
Bloomsbury
360pp, 30 black and white illustrations
Hardback, £55, paperback, £19.99

Perhaps the most important, or the most frequently quoted, words on Classical reception – the study of how the Classical world has been received since antiquity – are those of Charles Martindale: '*meaning is always realised at the point of reception*' (*Redeeming the Text*, Cambridge University Press 1993). They appear in a great many works on Classical reception, including *Deep Classics*, which offers a new approach to the subject.

The papers in this volume, based on an international conference held in Bristol in 2014, reflect how the field has moved away from the idea of the Classical '*tradition*' and instead take a more focused look at the obstacles of the distance of time and fragmentary knowledge that colour our understanding of the past.

The essays are broad in scope, covering epigraphy, visual arts, opera, literature ancient and modern, homosexuality, the senses, emotions and more. In Shane Butler's opening essay, we are presented with an analysis of perceptions of the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus over time. Was it erotic love or friendship? Was Achilles the lover or the beloved? Was it pederasty, or were they of equal age (*par aetas*) as the *quattrocento* poet Poliziano maintained? Taking into consideration ancient and modern authors, Butler looks at how we reach



Walt Whitman's '*love of comrades*' and Oscar Wilde's '*Greek love*' from Homeric texts which, it has been argued, predate Greek pederasty. Homer appears frequently in *Deep Classics*. Adam Leczar examines how Nietzsche and James Joyce engaged with the certainties of antiquity to better grasp the confusion of the present, despite being aware of the difficulties of doing so. He uses Joyce's *Ulysses* as a key example of this. Alex Purves turns to Homer in his discussion on the '*feel of antiquity*' and the links between emotional and physical feeling, by examining Henry Fuseli's drawing *The Artist Despairing over the Grandeur of Ancient Rome*, the tale of the blinded Polyphemus and his ram from the *Odyssey*.

The universality of some emotions helps to unite us with our ancient predecessors, but attitudes towards them can change. One of the most enjoyable chapters in the collection is Giulia Sissa's lucid and engaging 'Medea's Erotic Jealousy', which looks at how Seneca's *Medea* puts forward '*for the very first time, the most crucial idea in the history of jealousy: the idea that this emotion is better left unspoken*'. Or, as Stendhal put it in the 19th century, '*To allow yourself to be seen with a great unfulfilled desire is to allow yourself to be seen as inferior*.' Sissa highlights the contrast between these views and the earlier ones of Euripides and Aristotle, and effectively traces the journey of jealousy '*from ancient pride to modern shame*'.

Whether we are looking at ancient art, watching a modern production of a Greek tragedy, or reading some Roman satires, we are all acting as '*receivers*' of antiquity, so the rich subject of Classical reception is well worth considering. It is, however, somewhat dense, full of complex concepts, and often accompanied by obtuse language. Although many of the ideas in *Deep Classics* are intricate, they are well illustrated by interesting and diverse examples. This book is likely to become recommended reading for students on Classical reception courses.
Lucia Marchini

CLASSICAL CONUNDRUMS

Adam Jacot de Boinod poses a vocabulary quiz from Latin and Ancient Greek

Can you guess the correct definition of these words from the following three options?

1) claudicatio (Latin)
A) limping
B) a prophecy
C) the act of shouting

2) keleta (Homeric Greek)
A) shoe straps
B) a person who enjoys eating fine food, a glutton
C) a courser, a racer

3) andabata (Latin)
A) water-resistant coverings for the legs
B) sandals
C) a gladiator who fought blindfold

4) guia (Homeric Greek)
A) the surface of wine
B) joints (only of the arms and legs)
C) a gutter

5) iumentum (Latin)
A) the burning of the down of sea-birds
B) a beast of burden, used for hauling
C) an outburst of joy

6) diabrecho (Ancient Greek)
A) to wet through
B) to weep bitterly or threateningly
C) to possess by a demon

7) clavicula (Latin)
A) a windowless room
B) a tendril
C) a pole slung across a stream to stop cattle passing

8) auos (Homeric Greek)
A) a dull, hollow, grating sound
B) of a horse, apt to shy
C) eccentric

9) fautrix (Latin)
A) a virago, shrew or vixen
B) an ill-tempered woman or wife
C) a patroness, protectress

10) arignotos (Ancient Greek)
A) secret, shady
B) kind, gentle
C) easy to be known, well-known

11) iecusculum (Latin)
A) a pathway up to a steep hill
B) the fruit of the yew tree
C) a little liver

12) krauge (Ancient Greek)
A) crying, screaming, shrieking
B) falling asleep
C) listlessly, without energy

• Adam Jacot de Boinod has worked as a researcher on the BBC television quiz programme *QI*. He is the author of *The Meaning of Tingo* and creator of the iPhone App *Tingo*.

ANSWERS

1A) limping. 2C) a courser, a racer. 3C) a gladiator who fought blindfold. 4B) joints (only of the arms and legs). 5B) a beast of burden, used for hauling. 6A) to wet through. 7B) a tendril. 8A) a dull, hollow, grating sound. 9C) a patroness, protectress. 10C) easy to be known, well-known. 11C) a little liver. 12A) crying, screaming, shrieking.

© FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE

UNITED KINGDOM

CAMBRIDGE

COLOUR: The art and science of illuminated manuscripts

The Book of Hours, Use of Paris, circa 1440-1450 (above) by the Dunois Master is one of some 150 paintings on parchment and paper from the 8th to 16th centuries that celebrate the work of the Cambridge Illuminations and MINIARE projects. Using the latest scientific techniques to analyse these fragile documents they have conducted important art historical research showing the creative process of illuminating manuscripts from the artists' original ideas to choice of pigments, and painting techniques.
Fitzwilliam Museum
+44 (0)1223 332900
(www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk)
Until 30 December 2016.

COMPTON VERNEY, Warwickshire

Picasso on Paper

Celebrating Picasso, one of the most important artists and creative printmakers of the 20th century, this exhibition displays more than 70 of his works from Düsseldorf's Museum Kunstpalast and looks at how he experimented with different printmaking techniques throughout his career. It also examines his varied subject matter, such as bull-fighting, portraiture and the Old Masters.
Compton Verney
+44 (0)1926 645500
(www.comptonverney.org.uk)
From 15 October to
11 December 2016.

DURHAM

Daily Life in Ancient Lebanon

Often overlooked, ancient Lebanon and its inhabitants helped shape the history of the Mediterranean. This exhibition offers an intriguing overview of ancient Lebanese culture and society, which is based on Durham University's latest research. Masterpieces and also everyday objects, including a 7th-century BC hedgehog-shaped eye make-up pot (below), are on show in the UK for the first time, and will be used to examine themes such as government, faith, conflict and trade.
Oriental Museum
+44 (0)191 334 5694
(dur.ac.uk)
Until 25 September 2016.

EDINBURGH

Facing the World: Self-Portraits Rembrandt to Ai Weiwei

With paintings by Munch, Matisse and Rembrandt, such as *Self-Portrait, Aged 51, circa* 1657 (right), Instagram posts byAi Weiwei and performance-for-video by Marina Abramović, this diverse exhibition explores how the creator becomes the subject in self-portraiture. The works, in various media, travel across six centuries, showing the different ways artists portray themselves: as human beings without the trappings of their trade, at work with their tools and with loved ones.
Scottish National Portrait Gallery
+44 (0)131 624 6200
(www.nationalgalleries.org)
Until 16 October 2016.

SCOTTISH NATIONAL GALLERY: BRIDGEWATER COLLECTION LOAN, 1945

LONDON

Defacing the past: Damnation and Desecration in Imperial Rome

A look at the fascinating Roman act of *damnatio memoriae*, where a mention of a particular person – be it their name or image – is struck from the record. For instance, an overthrown emperor's memory could be condemned or erased in this way by his successors. Though the focus is primarily on coinage (below), inscriptions, papyri and sculpture will also be on show.
British Museum
+44 (0)20 7323 8299
(britishmuseum.org)
From 13 October 2016
to 7 May 2017.

Regarding Trees

Drawings, made from the early 16th to the mid-19th centuries, from the Courtauld's own collection, trace how artists have depicted trees as individual subjects of close study, as a way to improve observation and technical skill, and as an essential element of larger landscapes.
Courtauld Gallery
+44 (0)20 7848 2526
(courtauld.ac.uk)
Until 25 September 2016.

Rodin and Dance: The Essence of Movement

Organised in collaboration with the Musée Rodin, Paris, this lively exhibition focuses on Rodin's interest in dance and acrobatics. It looks at his *Dance Movements*, a series of experimental sculptures made in terracotta and plaster and found in his studio posthumously, as well as drawings in which he captured the movements of his models and of the Royal Cambodian dancers whom he encountered in 1906.
Courtauld Gallery
+44 (0)20 7848 2526
(courtauld.ac.uk)
From 20 October 2016 to
22 January 2017.

ORIENTAL MUSEUM, DURHAM

© THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

© MUSEUM OF LONDON

Fire! Fire!
In 1666 much of London went up in smoke; now, 350 years later, *Fire! Fire!* recreates Pudding Lane (where the fire started) and tells the story of the Great Fire, seen in a view from Ludgate, painted *circa* 1670-1678 (above). It looks at life in London on the eve of the blaze and at how the city recovered. On display are letters with eyewitness accounts, paintings, and surviving damaged artefacts that reveal the full force of the flames.
Museum of London
+44 (0)20 7001 9844
(www.museumoflondon.org.uk)
Until 17 April 2017.

Beyond Caravaggio
Characterised by his dramatic use of light and darkness and his striking realism, Caravaggio's work had a great impact not only on his contemporaries but also on artists working in the decades following his death. Highlights of this exhibition, the first major one held in the UK on the 17th-century international 'Caravaggism' movement, include his *Salome receives the Head of John the Baptist*, *Supper at Emmaus*, *Taking of Christ*, and *Boy bitten by a Lizard*, 1595-1600 (below), set in a wider European context alongside works by Orazio Gentileschi, Valentin de Boulogne, and Gerrit van Honthorst.
National Gallery
+44 (0)20 7747 2885
(www.nationalgallery.org.uk)
From 12 October to
15 January 2017.

© THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

Antony Gormley – Object
The first showing of Antony Gormley's work at the National Portrait Gallery will be *Object* 1999, a life-size cast-iron sculpture of his body hung from the ceiling of the Main Hall (shown below, when it was displayed in the Lutherkirche, Germany in 2000). This will be followed by *Fall* 1999, a selection of his drawings of a solitary figure occupying a void.
National Portrait Gallery
+44 (0) 20 7306 0055
(www.npg.org.uk)
Object 1999 from 7 September 2016.
Fall 1999 from 5 October 2016.

Paul Nash
This exhibition shows how Paul Nash, one of Britain's greatest war artists, used his landscapes depicting the destruction of nature, such as the iconic *We Are Making a New World,* to express the devastation of conflict. It also charts how Nash engaged with Surrealism, Abstraction, photography and Britain's ancient past, blurring the boundary between dream and reality.
Tate Britain
+44 (0)20 7887 8888
(tate.org.uk)
From 24 October 2016 to
5 March 2017.

THE RUDMAN TRUST © SDO WIFREDO LAM

The EY Exhibition: Wifredo Lam
Paintings, drawings, prints and photographs all come together to chart the long career of Cuban Modernist painter Wifredo Lam, from his training in 1920s' Madrid, through his exposure to Cubism and Surrealism in Paris, to his work alongside the Situationists in Europe in the 1960s. The works include *Dark Malembo, God of the Crossroads*, 1943 (above) and show how his art offers an historical view on contemporary issues, and how he combined traditional methods and Surrealist ideas, as well as his own original thoughts.
Tate Modern
+44 (0)20 7887 8888
(tate.org.uk)
From 14 September 2016 to
8 January 2017.

PHOTOGRAPH BY HELMUT KUNDE, KIEL, GERMANY © ANTONY GORMLEY

Opus Anglicanum: Masterpieces of English Medieval Embroidery
A vast array of the most spectacularly beautiful embroideries associated with key medieval figures, such as Edward I, Eleanor of Castile, Edward the Black Prince and Thomas Becket, are displayed in this exhibition. But, as well as showing the finished masterpieces, it also takes a closer look at their makers (mainly women in the City of London) and the tools and materials they use. Highlights include the Steeple Ashton Cope with its winged angel playing a lute, thought to be the first depiction

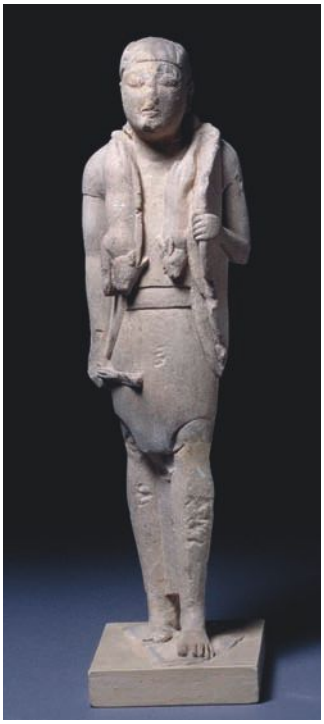
COURTESY OF THE GARRICK CLUB

of a lute in medieval art, and the red silk velvet Chichester-Constable Chasuble, *circa* 1335-45 (above) embroidered with images of saints and scenes from the life of the Virgin, and once adorned with seed pearls, too. As well as these luxurious textile works, panel paintings, sculpture, metalwork and manuscripts will also be on display.
Victoria & Albert Museum
+44 (0)20 7942 2000
(www.vam.ac.uk)
From 1 October 2016 to
5 February 2017.

COURTESY KINGS MUSEUM, UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN MUSEUMS

NORWICH
Fiji: Art and Life in the Pacific
In the largest, most comprehensive exhibition on Fiji to date, more than 270 works of art chart the Pacific island's cultural history since the late 18th century. European paintings, including Victorian watercolours, and historic photographs are shown alongside Fijian textiles, ceramics and ivories, such as the double-figure hook (below left), reflecting the country's diverse cultural relationship with Britain.
Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts
+44 (0)1603 593199
(www.scva.ac.uk)
From 15 October 2016 to
12 February 2017.

NOTTINGHAM
A Greek in Egypt: The Hunter from Naukratis
Coinciding with the major exhibition, *Sunken Cities* at the British Museum, this spotlight exhibition focuses on the Egyptian port at Naukratis. Centred on the Cypriot sculpture of a hunter, *circa* 550 BC (below) dedicated to Aphrodite in Naukratis by the Greek Kallias, it explores the relationships between Egypt, Greece and other Mediterranean civilisations.
Nottingham Lakeside Arts
+44 (0)115 846 7777
(www.lakesidearts.org.uk)
Until 16 October 2016.



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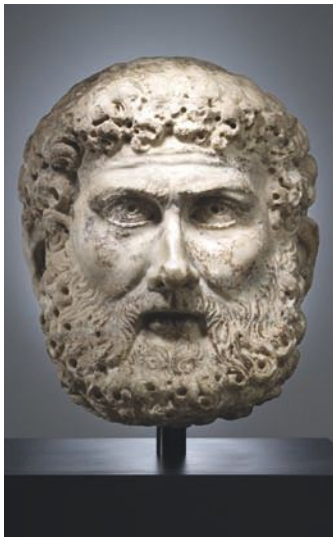
OXFORD
It's Me to the World
In this instalment of Modern Art Oxford's 50th anniversary programme (KALEIDOSCOPE), works from artists of different generations show how the human body and its connection to the natural world can be used to engage with themes such as memory, space and the environment, with pieces by Agnes Martin and Yoko Ono, as well as Richard Long's *Walking a Labyrith* (above) made from earth.
Modern Art Oxford
+44 (0)1865 722733
(www.modernartoxford.org.uk)
Until 16 October 2016.

COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND LISSON GALLERY.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BALTIMORE, Maryland
Waste Not: The Art of Medieval Recycling
Reusing materials was not an uncommon practice among medieval artists. Gold, ivory, stone, glass and parchment could all be recycled. Uncovering the layers of history present in such pieces, this exhibition includes an ancient head of Hercules that has been recarved into that of a saint (below), an enamel cross incorporating melted Roman glass, and manuscript sheets repurposed as a book cover.
The Walters Art Museum
+1 410 547 9000
(www.thewalters.org)
Until 18 September 2016.



© THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM, BALTIMORE

© 2016 THE FIELD MUSEUM. PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN WEINSTEIN

CHICAGO, Illinois
Tattoo
The art of tattooing has been in practice for more than 5000 years. Among the objects on show in this exhibition are a commemorative 17th-century tattoo stamp for Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem, a female figurine from Alaska with the chin tattoos once worn by Yupik women (above) and contemporary tattoos on silicon models.
Field Museum
+1 312 922 9410
(www.fieldmuseum.org)
From 21 October 2016 to
30 April 2017.

NEW YORK, New York
Dream States: Contemporary Photographs and Video
The often bizarre realm of dreams offers artists a source of inspiration, a place to explore imagination and

desire and an escape from reason. A selection of photographs (including ones by Danny Lyon, Nan Goldin, and Robert Frank) and a video from the Met show different approaches to the universal and yet entirely individual experience of dreaming, with many of them portraying the fall into sleep.
Metropolitan Museum of Art
+1 20 27 37 45 15
(www.metmuseum.org)
Until 30 October 2016.

WASHINGTON DC

The Art of the Qur'an: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts
More than 60 stunning Qur'an manuscripts span nearly 1000 years of Islamic history, from 8th-century Damascus to 17th-century Istanbul. The manuscript (below) is from Shiraz, Persia, and dates from 1580. Many were owned and valued by powerful figures in the Islamic world, and they played a key role in the history of the art of the book.
Arthur M Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution
+1 202 633 1000
(asia.si.edu)
From 15 October 2016 to 20 February 2017.

MUSEUM OF TURKISH AND ISLAMIC ARTS, ISTANBUL

Chinamania
Sculptor Walter McConnell's new installation, *A Theory of Everything: Dark Stupa* consists of more than 50 pieces of blue-and-white Chinese porcelain from the Kangxi period (1661-1722), and a hanging piece he has made from 3D scans of them. Also on show are two vast sculptutures, which McConnell terms *stupas* (one is shown right). Each made of more than 800 of his own porcelain figures, they present a striking contrast between the historic originals and their mass-produced imitations.
Arthur M Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution
+1 202 633 1000
(asia.si.edu)
Until 4 June 2017.

PHOTOGRAPPH COURTESY CROSS-MCKENZIE GALLERY, WASHINGTON, DC.

SAN FRANCISCO, California

The Brothers Le Nain: Painters of 17th-century France
The story of three brothers, Antoine, Louis, and Mathieu Le Nain, are told through more than 40 of their works in the first major exhibition in the United States devoted to the trio. Born in northern France, from 1630, they lived in Paris, sharing a studio founded by the oldest, Antoine. Particularly celebrated are their sympathetic depictions of peasants, such as *Peasants before a House*. They also painted allegorical and mythological scenes, such as *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1635 (above) and altarpieces, including *Nativity of the Virgin from Notre-Dame Cathedral*.
Legion of Honour, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco
+1 415 750 3600
(famsf.org)
From 8 October 2016 to 29 January 2017.

MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS, ORLÉANS, FRANCE

AUSTRALIA

MELBOURNE

Images of Life: Ancient Greek Vases
Decorated pieces of pottery from the Ian Potter Museum of Art, one of the most significant Greek vase collections in Australia, present snapshots of ancient Greek life. Depicting scenes from mythology, sporting events, music lessons, children at play, and more, the black-figure and red-figure vase paintings are a valuable resource for understanding daily life, religious beliefs and values in ancient Greece.
Ian Potter Museum of Art, University of Melbourne
+61 3 8344 5148
(www.art-museum.unimelb.edu.au)
Until 18 September 2016.

FRANCE

BAYONNE

1660 – With the Peace of the Pyrenees. Politics and Family
In half of a double exhibition, *Peace Treaty – The Ingenuity of Art: A Depiction of Peace in the History of Art*, the Basque and Bayonne History Museum explores peace between France and Spain in 1660 through over 140 drawings, engravings and paintings, including works by Velázquez and Charles Le Brun, and loans from the Prado, the Louvre and Versailles.
Bayonne History and Basque Museum
+33 559 59 08 98
(www.musee-basque.com)
Until 25 September 2016.

1808 – For the Abdication of Bayonne: Ornament and Crime
Also part of Bayonne's *Peace Treaty* programme, an exhibition at DIDAM arts centre examines the abdication of the Bourbons and the ascension of Napoleon's brother Joseph to the Spanish throne in 1808. Pieces both from the period and contemporary art explore the themes of ambition, betrayal and conspiracies around abdications.
DIDAM
+ 33 559 46 61 59
Until 25 September 2016.

PARIS

Icons of Modern Art: The Shchukin Collection
As part of the 2016-17 *France-Russia Year of Cultural Tourism*, this celebration of Sergei Shchukin (1854-1936), a leading Moscow industrialist and great collector of French Impressionist and Post-Impressionist art, includes 130 pieces from his collection. Among the highlights are works by Monet, Cezanne, Gauguin, Matisse, Picasso, Degas, Renoir and Van Gogh.
Fondation Louis Vuitton
+33 1 40 69 96 00
(www.fondationlouisvuitton.fr)
From 22 October 2016 to 20 February 2017.

LOUVRE © RMN-GRAND PALAIS (MUSÉE DU LOUVRE) THIERRY LE MAGE

Bouchardon (1698–1762): A Sublime Idea of Beauty
Described by one of his contemporaries as 'the greatest sculptor and the best draftsman of his century', Edme Bouchardon was interested in creating a balance between Classical ideals and naturalism, as in *Cupid carving his bow*, 1744 (above). This exhibition is the first major show devoted to Bouchardon, Sculptor to the King.
Louvre
+33 1 40 20 53 17
(www.louvre.fr)
From 14 September to 5 December 2016.

A Swede in Paris in the 18th Century: The Tessin Collection
Between 1739 and 1741, Count Carl Gustaf Tessin acted as Swedish ambassador in Paris, where he collected a great many paintings and drawings, particularly at the 1741 Crozat sale. To recover debts, he was forced to sell part of his painting collection to Frederick I on his return to Sweden and then his drawing collection to Crown Prince Adolf Frederick in 1750. Organised with Stockholm's Nationalmuseum, which now houses most of the Tessin collection, the works provide an insight to the 18th-century art market and Parisian taste.
Louvre
+33 1 40 20 53 17
(www.louvre.fr)
From 20 October 2016 to 16 January 2017.

Delacroix as a Model
Eugène Delacroix exercised a profound influence over the Impressionists, Picasso and Matisse. Many other artists were also inspired by his talent and originality – as can be seen in this exhibition. Highlights include the Musée National Eugène Delacroix's recent (2015) acquisition, *Women of Algiers in their Apartment* painted by Henri Fantin-Latour and on show for the first time.
Musée National Eugène Delacroix
+33 1 44 41 86 50
(www.musee-delacroix.fr)
Until 15 September 2016.

GERMANY

BERLIN

Dangerous Perfection: Ancient Funerary Vases from Apulia
Some 13 impressive funerary vases from Ceglie del Campo in Apulia (recently conserved as part of a joint project with the J Paul Getty Museum in LA after enduring wartime and postwar damage) are on show. The vases, which shed light on ancient upper-class burial customs, are richly decorated with scenes from Greek mythology, such as the fight against the Chimera shown on the one (below). They were restored in the 19th century by Raffaele Garguilo (1785–1870); at the time his reconstructions were described as a 'dangerous perfection'.
Altes Museum
+49 30 266 42 42 42
(www.smb.museum)
Until 18 June 2017.

© STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG, PHOTO: JOHANNES LAURENTIUS

El Siglo de Oro: The Age of Velázquez
Spanish painting and sculpture from the 17th century – the so-called *Siglo de Oro* or Golden Age of Spanish culture – is under the spotlight in this exhibition, which brings together some 150 masterpieces, by El Greco, Zurbarán, Murillo and Cano from the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin's own collections and from collections from across Spain, including Velázquez' *Mars, circa* 1641 (above) from the Prado. In presenting the wooden polychrome sculpture of the era alongside the sumptuous oil paintings, visitors can compare the developments of these two art forms. With a particular focus on the artistic hubs in Madrid, Toledo, Seville and Valencia, the works on show – which often use iconography as political propaganda – this show offers a vibrant glimpse into this fascinating period of history that was rife with conflict between the king and the Church.
Gemäldegalerie
+49 30 266 42 42 42
(www.smb.museum)
Until 30 October 2016.

© MUSEO NACIONAL DEL PRADO

ITALY

VENICE

Venice, the Jews and Europe 1516-2016
Marking the fifth centenary of the creation of Venice's Ghetto for the Jewish population, this exhibition looks at the history of the three ghettos (Nuovo, Vecchio and Nuovissimo) and their relationship with the rest of the city and beyond. Reflecting the cultural diversity of cosmopolitan 16th-century Venice, and exchanges of knowledge, skills, languages and customs, this show will include paintings by Bellini, Carpaccio and Chagall among others, as well as architectural drawings, furniture and archive material.
Palazzo Ducale
+39 041 2715911
(palazzoducale.visitmuve.it)
Until 13 November 2016.

NETHERLANDS

LEIDEN

Breathtaking Baalbek
The stunning Roman ruins of Baalbek in the Beqaa valley in eastern Lebanon, are depicted in this exhibition through 20 paintings by the Dutch artist Teun van Staveren, including this one of the beautifully carved entrance to the temple (below). Among these celebrated ancient ruins are well-preserved underground passageways and temples, such as the vast Temple of Bacchus (one of the largest in the empire), measuring 69 metres by 36 metres, with 42 columns that are 19 metres tall.
Rijksmuseum van Oudheden
+ 31 71 5163 163
(www.rmo.nl)
Until 25 September 2016.

ROYAL COLLECTION TRUST / © HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II 2016

EVENTS

PORTUGAL

LISBON

A Tale of Two Cities: Lisbon and Edinburgh

The latest instalment in the Scottish-led *A Tale of Two Cities* exhibition programme, which has previously seen success in China and Scotland, brings together art (including oil paintings and engravings), artefacts, architectural models and archival material to chart the development of Edinburgh and Lisbon. Two new parts of the exhibition focus on comparing aspects of the two cities, such as bridges and abbeys, and on fishing and shipbuilding, which helped both cities develop.

Torreão Poente, Museu de Lisboa
+351 217 513 200
(www.museudelisboa.pt)
Until 22 December 2016.

RUSSIA

ST PETERSBURG

Byzantium through the Centuries

As part of the cross-cultural programme between Russia and Greece this year (2016 is the *Year of Greece in Russia and Russia in Greece*), this comprehensive exhibition features some major loans from Greece. Spanning the history of Byzantium until the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the works exhibited explore themes such as religious change over the centuries and include sculpture, mosaics, frescoes, jewellery, illuminated manuscripts, icons and a painting by El Greco.

State Hermitage
+7 812 710 90 79
(www.hermitagemuseum.org)
Until 2 October 2016.

SPAIN

MADRID

Roman Lusitania: The Origin of Two Cultures

Lusitania was a Roman province that covered almost all of modern Portugal, Extremadura and western Andalucía. It remains one of the lesser known provinces of the Western Empire, yet its capital Augusta Emerita was one of the most important settlements in the far west. Drawn from a number of Portuguese and Spanish collections, more than 200 objects give a detailed account of society, culture, economy and religion of this province, which took its name from the Lusitani, a group of warlike tribes who, despite defeats, resisted Roman domination until their great leader, Viriatus, was killed in 139 BC.

National Archaeological Museum
+34 915 77 79 12
(www.man.es)
Until 16 October 2016.

UNITED KINGDOM

CHATSWORTH, Derbyshire

Art Out Loud

Chatsworth's Festival returns for its second year with a range of art-related talks. Among the artists, curators and writers speaking are Peter Frankopan (author of *The Silk Roads: A New History of the World*) on Eastern influences on Western art over the centuries, and artist and writer Edmund de Waal on his porcelain pilgrimage to China, Dresden and Cornwall.

Chatsworth
(www.chatsworth.org)
23-25 September 2016.

LONDON

1066: Interpreting the Norman Conquest in 2016

950 years on from the Norman Conquest, perhaps the single most important event in English history, this conference will cover a diverse range of subjects such as the Conquest's background, the Bayeux Tapestry, arms and armour, architecture, government and society.

Royal Armouries at the Tower of London
+44 (0)113 220 1888
(bookings@armouries.org.uk)
14 to 16 October 2016.

Environment and Society in the First Millennium AD

In this year's Late Antique Archaeology conference, the focus is on environmental phenomena and their impact on the Mediterranean and northern Europe, with papers on climate change, deforestation and reforestation, and land use, among other topics. Regional pollen data for the first millennium AD will also be presented.

The Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House
(www.lateantiquearchaeology.wordpress.com)
8 October 2016.

OXFORD

The Maker's Share in Ancient Greek Art

Attempting to clarify the role of the maker in Greek art, particularly of the Archaic and Classical periods, this Classical Art Research Centre (CARC) two-day workshop will feature a range of papers by academics from across the globe on subjects such as the artist in Greek political economy, signing Athenian pots, status in Athenian sculpture, and innovation in Greek sculpture.

Ioannou Centre for Classical and Byzantine Studies
(www.carc.ox.ac.uk)
6-27 September 2016.

PRIVATE COLLECTION, UNITED KINGDOM

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

NEW YORK

***Events to complement* Jerusalem 1000–1400: Every People Under Heaven**

To accompany its autumn exhibition, *Jerusalem 1000-1400* (see pages 14 to 20), which features marvellous objects such as this 14th-century copper cross (above) the Met has organised a varied programme of events. These include a family afternoon on daily life in the city, the world premiere of the oratorio *Al-Quds: Jerusalem* by Mohammed Fairouz, *The Suspended Harp: Sounds of Faith in Medieval Jerusalem* – a performance by the vocal ensemble Schola Antiqua of Chicago of hymns, psalms and calls to prayer from different faiths – and *Feast of Jerusalem,* two nights of *Hafla* (a delicious family-style feast) organised by Laila el-Haddad, Maggie Schmitt and the celebrated chef Yotam Ottolenghi.

The Suspended Harp: Sounds of Faith in Medieval Jerusalem
The Met Cloisters – The Fuentidueña Chapel
23 October 2016, 1pm and 3pm

Feast of Jerusalem
The Met Fifth Avenue – The Petrie Court Café and Wine Bar
18 and 19 November 2016, 7pm

Family Afternoon
The Met Fifth Avenue – Carson Family Hall, Ruth and Harold D Uris Center for Education
20 November 2016, 1-4pm

Al-Quds: Jerusalem
The Met Fifth Avenue – The Grace Rainey Rogers Auditorium
9 December 2016, 7pm

Metropolitan Museum of Art
+1 20 27 37 45 15
(www.metmuseum.org)

BULGARIA

PLOVDIV

Cities, Territories and Identities

In the first international Roman and Late Antique Thrace (RaLATh) conference, held in the heart of this ancient region, Philippopolis (now Plovdiv), archaeologists, historians, numismatists, epigraphists and art historians will come together in an interdisciplinary discussion of many aspects of Thracian urban life. Topics will include religion, architecture, civic space planning, city economy and settlement patterns.
(naim.bg/en/content/news/600/857/629)
7-10 October 2016.

FRANCE

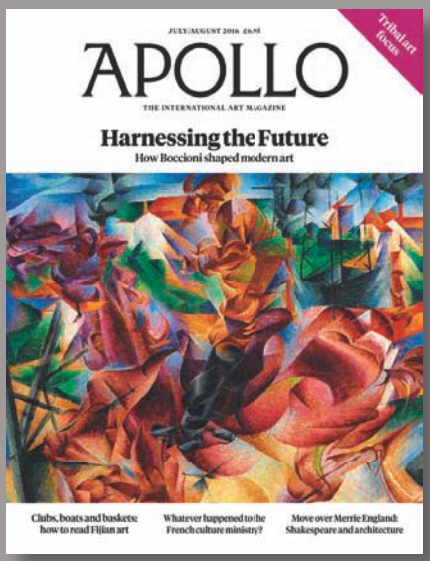
PARIS

La Biennale des Antiquaires, Paris

Featuring 123 exhibitors from 14 countries, the 28th edition of the Biennale art fair returns to the Grand Palais. For the first time, three major institutions will be presenting exhibitions as part of the fair: *A century of French elegance* from St Petersburg's State Hermitage, *Tribute to the Mobilier national: Tradition and Audace* from Le Mobilier national in Paris, and *The Mastery of Time* from Geneva's La Fondation de la Haute Horlogerie. Among the commercial exhibitors are Galerie Cybele, Galerie Mermoz, Alexis Renard, Harmakhis, Sycomore Ancient Art, and Tomasso Brothers Fine Art, whose highlights will include a fine, recently discovered bronze bust of the ancient Greek physician Modios Asiatikos (below) by François Girardon (1628-1715), court sculptor to Louis XIV; and an array of erotic art from antiquity to the Neoclassical periods).

Grand Palais
www.biennale-paris.co
10-18 September 2016.

TOMASSO BROTHERS FINE ART



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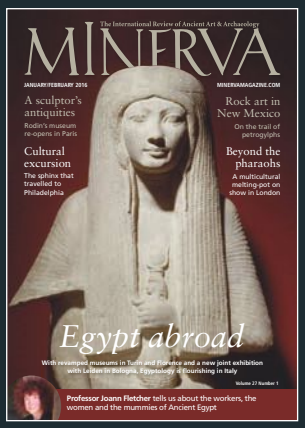

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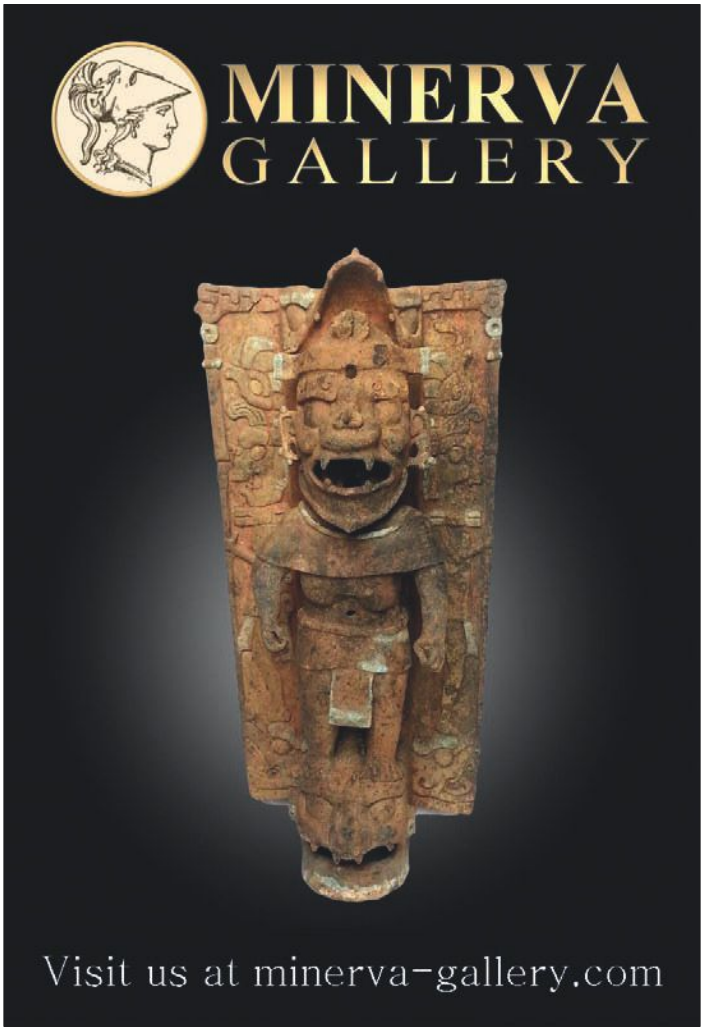

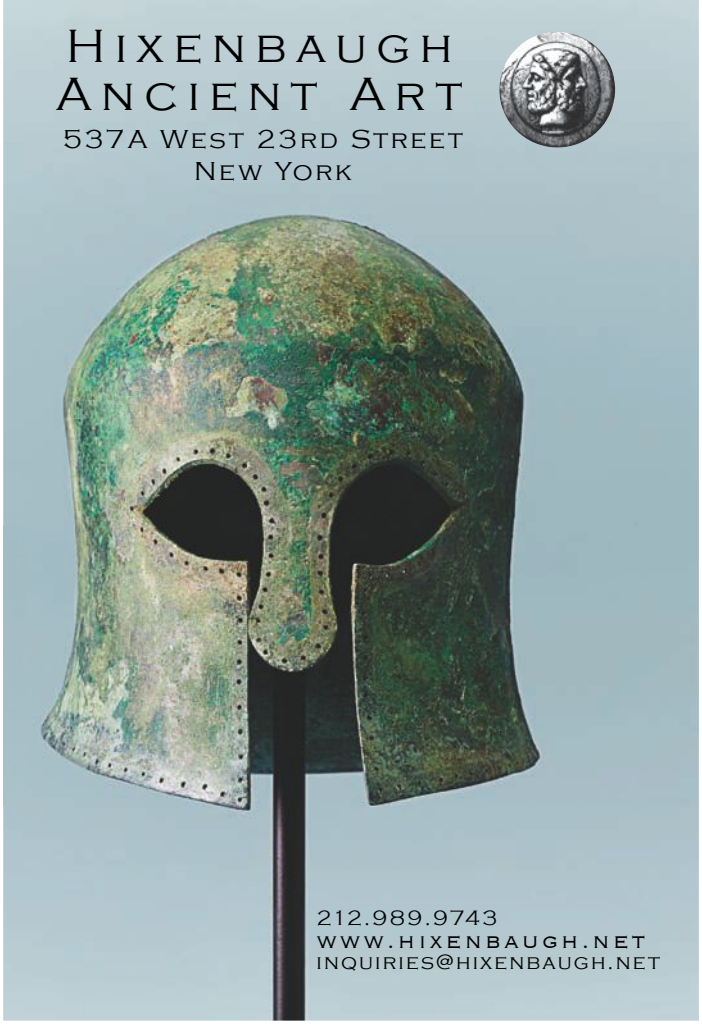

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